The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXI NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1920 No. 2889

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES—Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50, and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: NATION, New York. Chicago Office: 1170 People's Gas Building. British Agents for Subscriptions and Advertising: Swarthmore Press Ltd., 72 Oxford St., London.

SOME things to rejoice over:

The popular disapproval of Burleson and Palmer;

The defeat of Senator George E. Chamberlain of Oregon, arch-militarist, sponsor of universal military training;

The failure of Senator James D. Phelan to win reelection to the Senate despite his bitter anti-Japanese crusade;

The election to the Senate of Congressman J. W. Harreld of Oklahoma, anti-militarist and one of the handful of Congressmen who voted to seat Victor Berger. He ran 25,000 votes ahead of Harding;

The victory in the Fourteenth Ohio District of C. L. Knight, publisher of the Akron *Beacon Journal*, outspoken anti-militarist, who courted and successfully sustained the attack of the American Legion, winning by more than 6,000 votes;

The coming appearance in the House of Representatives of a second woman Congressman;

The defeat of Boss Barnes in Albany, his district electing a Democratic Congressman despite the Republican landslide;

The extraordinary splitting of tickets in New York State, as a result of which Governor Smith ran one million votes ahead of his party's candidate for President, very nearly winning the election, while Senator Wadsworth, rightly opposed by the women of the State, ran half a million behind Harding;

The defeat of Mr. Burleson's brother-in-law, Carlos Bee, in the Fourteenth District of Texas, resulting in the first Republican Congressman from Texas since Reconstruction days;

The election of Negro Assemblymen in Missouri and Washington;

The breaking up of the Solid South, as shown by the heavy Republican vote in Louisiana, Florida, Alabama, and the election of Republican Congressmen.

HUMOR and color are not lacking in the tales of victory. Congress is not to be without a woman representative for the next two years, but its one woman will be Alice M. Robertson of Muskogee, sometime vice-president of the Anti-Suffrage Association of Oklahoma. Miss Robertson is no such young crusader as was Representative Rankin of Montana; she emigrated to the old Indian Territory in an ox-cart just after the Civil War, and is 66 years of age. She is a former postmistress, and is now proprietor of a cafeteria where service men were fed free of charge during the war. Her entire campaign was waged in cafeteria advertisements. Then there is "Alf" Taylor, elected Republican Governor of Tennessee in his first political campaign since he lost the same office to his Democratic brother "Bob" thirty-four years ago, in a wild campaign in which the brothers lambasted each other from one end of the State to the other. "Alf" then used the Taylor quartet of sons and nephews to advertise his campaign, while "Bob" played solos on his home-made Happy Valley fiddle, and carried off the honors. Finally there is the Kentucky gentleman who from his jail cell waged a campaign against the judge who sentenced him, won the election, and was pardoned to take his seat on the bench.

THE Farmer-Labor Party made no very remarkable showing at the polls, but its showing in the newspapers was worse still. The New York newspapers boycotted it. Not a paper gave the figures of Jeremiah O'Leary's remarkable run in the Eighteenth Congressional District of New York. In this district where John F. Carew, the Democratic incumbent, won by 19,000 votes in 1918, O'Leary polled 10,124, Carew 12,113, O'Connor (Republican) 10,671, and McDonald (Socialist) 5,438. Had the Farmer-Labor and Socialists been able to unite, they might have elected their candidate. Dudley Field Malone's 50,000 votes for Governor were a disappointing showing. In South Dakota and Washington, however, the Farmer-Labor tickets ran well ahead of the Democrats; reports indicate that in Missouri the new party polled 65,000 votes; that it ran ahead of the Socialist Party in Indiana; and that in southern Illinois it polled a large vote although in Chicago its vote was negligible. Minneapolis sends seven Farmer-Labor members to the State legislature. No figures are yet available on Christensen's national total, but it is plain that the Farmer-Labor Party is far from replacing the Socialist as the third national party. Unless the new party can win solid trade-union support, which is unlikely until Mr. Gompers is deposed, it cannot become an important factor in American politics. In the State of Washington, where it made its best showing, it had that support.

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DEBS polled three times the 1916 Socialist vote for President, and twice the Socialist high water mark of 1912, but the total, some 1,800,000, is much less than Socialists and non-Socialist protestants had hoped for. Nor do local election returns give the Socialists great encouragement. Meyer London regained the Congressional seat in New York which he lost in 1916; but Victor Berger lost the Milwaukee seat which he had won in 1918 and held at the special election in 1919. For years the Socialists have had just one Congressman, sometimes from Milwaukee and sometimes from New York. In other districts of New York, Wisconsin, and California, Socialist candidates made close runs. It is a curious commentary upon American journalism that the five Los Angeles newspapers omitted all returns from the Tenth Congressional District of California on the morning after election in order to avoid mention of Upton Sinclair's run. In New York City the Republican landslide swept two if not three of the five ousted Assemblymen to defeat; but a new Socialist Assemblyman will go to Albany from Brooklyn, and for the first time the Socialists elected a State Senator. Some industrial districts, including many of the steel towns of the Pittsburg district, showed Debs ahead of Cox.

IN common with other of the lesser political organizations the National Nonpartisan League was drenched though not drowned by the Harding cloudburst. Its hopes were centered chiefly in North and South Dakota, Montana, Colorado, Wisconsin, and Washington. The League farmers combined with organized labor this year in an effort to capture the State political machinery of Montana and Colorado. Mainly because the Democratic Party was regarded as dominant in those States they went into its primaries, and, having gained control and nominated the candidates, were expectant of victory in the State elections. But the Harding sentiment proved so overwhelming that it carried the Republicans to victory in State as well as in national contests. In Wisconsin, where the League combined with the La Follette Republicans, it fared better. Thompson, who ran independently against Lenroot for the United States Senate, was beaten; but J. J. Blaine and J. D. Beck, whom the La Follette-Nonpartisan forces succeeded in nominating in the primaries for Governor and the seat in Congress now held by Representative Esch, respectively, were elected. Moreover, about half the Republicans elected to the Legislature were La Follette-Nonpartisan men.

GOVERNOR FRAZIER was elected for a third term in North Dakota, but the Nonpartisan League failed of a majority in the State Legislature, as had been feared since it lost the Republican primaries. This will seriously hinder the development of its industrial program. On the other hand, Dr. E. F. Ladd, the League's candidate for the United States Senate, will displace Gronna in Washington. The election of Dr. Ladd is the signal achievement of the League in the elections. As president of the North Dakota Agricultural College and author of the State's progressive grain-grading law, he has the confidence of the farmers of the Northwest, and, although he may not be able to accomplish much in a legislative way in Washington, his advent will be a wholesome influence in a body where an educator and a scientist is an unknown species. Dr. Ladd is not a member of the Nonpartisan League; he is not a farmer and therefore not eligible. He may fairly be described as a representative of the vague body known as "the public."

MORE votes were cast in New York in 1916 than in the ten States of the Solid South carried by the Democratic Party in the present presidential election. These ten States, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, cast in 1916 a total of 1,598,015 votes. In the Electoral College they cast 114 votes. The total popular vote in 1916 was 18,526,743, and the total electoral vote, then as now, 521. Therefore, what of the South has remained solid even for Mr. Cox, while actually casting but eight and six-tenths per cent of the total vote scores twenty-one and four-tenths per cent in the Electoral College. Again, New York's 1,706,354 votes, or 108,339 more than those of the above ten States, are represented by but forty-five electoral votes, or about two-fifths the number of a region which New York exceeds in popular voting strength by nearly ten per cent. When the full figures of the 1920 election are in, the discrepancy will be even more flagrant. For while the Northern electorate will be greatly augmented by the woman's vote, it will not materially swell the South's total. In the new Congress Republicans will have the power, as well as the right and duty, to put an end to this injustice based on the counting of disfranchised voters. If the South insists on denying the colored American the supposedly inalienable rights given him under the Constitution, it may not in addition pocket these votes as its own.

"IT is war. It is rebellion," said Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons, explaining, as "one of those unfortunate accidents that always happen in war," the killing of a woman with a baby in her arms by British soldiers in County Galway, Ireland. It *is* war. There *is* rebellion in Ireland, and the rebels are men of the stripe of Washington and Kosciuszko and Kossuth. But Mr. Lloyd George, who defends British terrorism, the burning of villages and cooperative creameries as fair measures of war, does not maintain his definition of the situation in Ireland as "war." The same dispatch which quotes his speech in Parliament gives an official statement alleging that the Government's stern policy is drawing a tighter net about the "criminals" and claiming a diminution of "crime" as a result. What is the truth? Take the previous day's dispatches from Ireland to a New York daily. From Londonderry: five policemen shot, two of them fatally, two Sinn Fein shops burned to the ground, several more wrecked, horses burned to death, automobiles smashed. From North Belfast: fierce rioting stopped by an armored car. From Cork: a laborer shot dead by the police. From Causeway: seven Irish volunteers killed. From Dublin: two civilians shot, and one policeman thrown into the river. A railroad about to cease operation because of the unsettled condition. No, the policy of reprisal is not pacifying Ireland; it is only alienating the rest of the world from England.

EXIT Baron Wrangel. Enter General Balakovich, Russia's latest Jack-in-the-box "liberator." True to form, he is being "hailed" in Paris and given his first appearance in America in the news columns of the New York *Times*. Soon it will require mnemonic wizardry equaling that of Sir William Gilbert's major-general, who knows "the kings of England and can quote the fights historical from Marathon to Waterloo in order categorical," to recall the procession—Kaledine, Kolchak, Judenich, Denikin, Pilsudski, Mahkno, Wrangel. Like the mysterious *novae* of our firmament which appear suddenly, shine brightly, and then fade into the

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night, each of these adventurers in turn has been the pole star of the Allies' policy toward Russia. Will-o'-the-wisps they were chasing every time, these recently valiant contenders for democracy, national aspirations, self-determination and wraiths, owing their semblance of corporeality to the valiant columns—not of their followers, but of the correspondents on the newspaper front. The *Times*, by right of discovery official organ of Russian White Hope-ism, now hails General Balakovich as "a modern Robin Hood." Come, strategists of the editorial sanctum, let us have better liaison work between the Literary Supplement and the Current History. Was not the illustrious Robin first to discover the joys of robbing the rich to endow the poor—the original Bolshevik, forsooth? And may not his modern exemplar, General Balakovich, like his predecessor General Mahkno, be found, ere long, on the Bolshevist side?

THE picked and withered carcass of Turkey is to be carved and dished out to the western Powers just as Africa was a few decades ago. It is the same old game, played by the same old players for the same old stakes in the same old way. The only difference is that this time Germany is left out, and England, France, and Italy have all the pickings to themselves. When the official treaty with Turkey was signed at Sèvres in August—and that treaty parceled out a few spoils itself—these three pious Powers signed another little treaty among themselves, beginning of course with an unctious statement of desire to avoid international friction. This treaty recognizes the "special interests" of Italy in southern Anatolia, and of France in Cilicia and western Kurdistan, and by implication, of England in most of the rest of what was Turkey; it pledges these benevolent Powers to "render diplomatic support to each other in maintaining their respective positions in the areas in which their special interests are recognized"; it carefully distributes the railways among the three Powers and allots the titles in Constantinople. The presidency of Constantinople—sweet-smelling title—goes to a British general, the presidency of the Financial Commission to France, and of the Railroad Commission to Italy. Armenia, over which so many diplomatic tears have been shed, appears not at all; but the coal mines of Heraclea on the Black Sea get special mention. The diplomats of the economic imperialism era still rule us; they have forgotten nothing and learned nothing by the war.

WHAT, another threat to federalize the coal industry? Doubtless, the reader will say, it comes from some crack-brained Socialist or foolish backer of the Plumb Plan. Not at all. It was voiced this time by two of the most conservative Republican Senators in the country, William M. Calder of New York and Walter E. Edge of New Jersey, who are so outraged by the conditions they have discovered in the course of their investigation of the coal business as to say that if the operators do not behave themselves and reduce prices before Congress meets they will introduce a bill to have the Government take over the whole industry. We do not take this threat too seriously; it is chiefly bluff. Messrs. Calder and Edge know that they would not be allowed to carry out their threat. But it is certainly interesting that two conservatives like these are willing to resort to such threats and still more so that they have run across such shocking exploitation of the public as to arouse them so profoundly. They found "vast confessed profiteering in coal"; and "crookedness" on a great scale; "the wrongdoing has been admitted by D. B. Wartz, representing the National Coal Association; by Commissioner C. B. Aitchison of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and Daniel Willard, representing the railroads"; "there is general confession of guilt on the part of the industry, even though guilty individuals have not been identified." As a result of the Senators' threat the price of coal has begun to come down and the outlook is that the public will be somewhat protected by early December. But for how long?

BY a decisive majority California has made it law that Japanese can own no land, can lease no land, cannot act as guardians for their American-born children in whose name land is held, and cannot own any share in American-controlled land owning companies. That this legislation constitutes the gravest injustice to the Japanese residents of California few will deny. In that State America's traditional sense of fair play has been swept away in a ferment of race prejudice and campaign buncombe. The notion that the Japanese land ownership constitutes a "menace" in the sense employed by anti-immigrationists is entirely refuted by the facts. Of the twenty-eight million acres of farming area which compose one-fourth of the State's total acreage, only 458,000 acres, or 1.6 per cent, are under cultivation by Japanese. But this is not all. Of this ridiculously small proportion not over twenty-seven thousand acres—less than one-tenth of one per cent—are owned by Japanese, the balance being made up of lands cultivated by Japanese under leases, under crop share contracts, under labor contracts, and finally, of 48,000 acres owned by American corporations with some Japanese shareholders. The California verdict serves merely as the basis for wholly justified Japanese indignation. As such, it is worth the earnest consideration of all who in time of peace would prepare to avoid war. For while no differences exist between the two nations that cannot be settled by amicable arbitration despite the efforts of racial jingoes on both sides of the Pacific, it is America, speaking through California, that has committed the first overt act of unfriendliness. Let us hope that saner counsels may yet prevail and a way be found to emerge with justice.

HOW like an island set apart from the rest of the world America is today, is illustrated by the chart printed elsewhere in this issue of *The Nation*, showing the spectacular decline in European exchanges in two years of "peace." While Europe is still passing through convulsive transformations that may spell death or new life for the future, but which spell economic disease today, America stands apart relatively unchanged. The value of European money is currently reckoned, as on this chart, in dollars. During the war the neutral currencies, by virtue of their special position, were well above the par ratio to American money, while Allied and Central Power exchange varied with the flux of the military tide. The bankers whose group judgment determines exchange ratio did not realize that in this war there would be no victors, but only many vanquished. The signing of the armistice brought a sharp drop in neutral exchange, and gave Allied exchanges a respite of good health. But as the unsound nature of the coming peace became clear, and as that peace began to work its ill effects, all European exchanges, the neutrals dragged with the others, began to tumble, and despite temporary recoveries, they are still falling. European nations are still meeting their current obligations by the issue of paper money, and America, receiving interest on their wartime borrowings, looks to them like a sinister vampire.

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The Triumph of Reaction

LET us confess frankly that the Presidential election, on the face of the returns, brought precious little cheer to liberals. Any sizable protest vote would have been lost in such an avalanche, and when New York City cast only 132,000 votes for Eugene Debs, and the Farmer-Labor vote did not even appear in the press reports, it is perfectly clear that the protest vote was negligible. The great army of dissatisfied protested by sweeping Harding into office by majorities which may easily stand unsurpassed during the life-time of men now of middle age. *The Nation* was correct in its prophecy on October 27, that the election was going to be "so nearly unanimous" as to make it impossible for anybody to attribute the outcome to any one racial group or to any one grievance. It was not pro-Republican, and not remotely pro-Harding, but was simply anti-Wilson; it was a remarkably unanimous vote for a new deal, an entire change in government. The country is absolutely through with Woodrow Wilson and his works, and was so bent upon cleaning house that it took heed of no programs and voiced nothing constructive whatever.

So the country is bound and delivered to the Republicans. They may work their sweet will upon us and interpret the verdict as they see fit. They may declare it a mandate for additional protective tariff robbery of the public, or for a war with Mexico, or for complete withdrawal from Europe, or for further prosecution of liberals and radicals, or anything else that may suit their convenience. Who can gainsay them? Only the more experienced among them will remember that no great Congressional majorities have held together long and that a reversal of public interest inevitably follows quickly upon the creation of so one-sided an administration. If they would escape a notable reaction by 1922 they must use their power with wise forbearance. But today they may certainly look upon the wreck of the Democratic Party as the Romans gloated over the destruction of Carthage. The Democratic Party is not only defeated; it is discredited, and it is without a single leader of distinction to guide the reorganization to come. The curse of Burleson, and of Daniels, and of Palmer is upon it, the cross of Wilsonism upon its back. It is paying dearly now for that White House policy which permitted few men of independence, vigor, and promise to flourish under its shadow. Well may the Republicans believe that the enemy is theirs for a long time to come.

But the returns may tell one story and time prove another. Certain things just beneath the surface remain to encourage liberals, to keep up the faith of all those to whom the outcome spells sore disappointment. It is a cause for hope and for rejoicing that party bonds never sat so lightly as now. When Governor Smith in New York can run more than a million votes ahead of his ticket in such a year, and a weak Democratic district attorney be beaten for an important judgeship; when Democrats in Texas defeat the brother-in-law of Secretary Burleson and elect a Republican; when William Barnes is defeated in his own bailiwick of Albany in an unprecedented Republican landslide, there is sufficient evidence that independent voting has waxed enormously and that it is no longer treason to split one's ballot, even in the South. Indeed, there are signs without number that the electorate *is* thinking. The New York *World* declares that, on its face, the election means that the electorate has repudiated both the war and the peace. One does not need to believe this fully in order to see that men and women chose at the polls the way that seemed to them the most certain and the surest to scotch what they had begun to abominate—the Wilsonian brand of government. That there was a tremendous vote of dissatisfaction with the war and the peace is true. One of the most experienced Washington correspondents, after two months constant pre-election traveling in the West, assures us that the defeat of the Democracy was settled when Mr. Wilson pledged in Paris the reappearance there of American troops should another great war arise. The present generation, let it be said, desires no more warring on Continental soil, however much some few of our fellow citizens might welcome a crusade to destroy British imperialism or navalism, and however much some others would like to have America the handmaiden of the British Government. Indubitably, large groups of citizens voted against the Administration for specific reasons; the Irish in mass deserted the Democratic Party, and the German-Americans and Scandinavians were likewise wholly with the Republicans. In so far as this vote was anti-war or against close foreign ties, it is a cause for profound gratitude.

As for the women's vote, it proved the falsity of Governor Cox's claim that the mothers of the nation were for the League; precisely the opposite was true. The women remembered the worth of Mr. Wilson's boast in 1916 that he had kept us out of the European war, and they were slow to take his assurance that the League would in perpetuity perform the same function. For the rest, the effect of the women's vote was just what every one but its most ardent opponents and its most fanatical supporters knew it would be—slight indeed. It neither brought about the defeat in New York of Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr., nor of Senator Brandegee in Connecticut. Yet in both States tremendous efforts were made to line up all women against these two reactionaries. Victor Berger believes that the women contributed to his defeat in Milwaukee through their "natural conservatism." The fact is, of course, that the women voted much as the men did, not because they were under the domination of men, but because men and women are much alike in their opinions and prejudices. Those persons who hoped that the women's vote would produce an immediate purification of politics, or a wave of social reform, will share the disappointment of those who fought the extension of suffrage lest it spell bolshevism or abolish the cigarette. Only those are satisfied who believe that universal suffrage was a necessary element in political democracy and are willing to trust to the democratic method of government by all the men and women of the country, even though it may sometimes result in the election of a Harding. The election proves that the general political temper of the country will probably be far less radically affected by women's vote than many people hoped or feared. And, finally, it makes it clear that for liberals there is a long road ahead before the United States can be ranked as a politically progressive nation. But this, as we said last week, is merely the greater stimulus to progressives, and places the greater burden upon them of fighting more than ever wisely and effectively, for with them lies the spiritual future of our beloved land.

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A Constructive World League Program

SPEAKING for the first time after his election as President, Senator Harding declared at Marion that the Versailles League of Nations is "now deceased" and reiterated his statement that when President he intends to "ask for nations associated together in justice, but it will be an association which surrenders nothing of American freedom." He has also reasserted his intention to invite, as soon as he returns to Marion, a group of prominent Americans to advise him as to the best plan. This is excellent policy provided that his visitors are not a narrow partisan body but represent all the points of view of those who will have none of the Versailles Treaty yet realize full well that some kind of an international association is urgently demanded. There could be no greater honor for the United States than to take the lead in building a really democratic peace league, free from all the defects of the present League —defects whose existence even its most ardent supporters admit—for no more important service could be rendered to a world in chaos.

As a contribution to the discussion already raging in the daily press as to the future world organization, *The Nation* submits its own constructive suggestions, hitherto made from time to time, for a policy to take the place of that advocated by President Wilson. Our program is as follows:

1. The immediate calling of the Third Hague Conference by President Harding as soon as he takes office.
2. The inclusion within the call to the Conference of all nations, large and small, victors and vanquished alike.
3. The reference to the Conference of the task of codifying existing international law and of creating additional statutes, which should include:
   (a) The outlawing of war by the Conference, as demanded by Senator Harding during his campaign, by the abolition of war as a means of settling international disputes.
   (b) The creation of a genuine world court by empowering the Hague Court to pass upon all disputes relating to purely international matters, with power to summon all parties to a suit or controversy into court (obligatory jurisdiction).
   (c) The abolition of the doctrines of military necessity and retaliation.
   (d) Universal and immediate disarmament by all nations as the result of the above steps.
   (e) The remaking of the Treaty of Versailles and the treaties with the minor Central Powers so that absolute justice may be done.
   (f) The nationalization in each country (as promised by Lloyd George for England during the war) of every munition and weapon-making industry, including the building of warships of every kind.

The first duty of The Hague should be to *outlaw war* in accordance with the demand first made by Senator Knox during the anti-treaty fight in the Senate and by Senator Harding during the campaign. They are both absolutely right. The use of war as a means for the settlement of international disputes must be abolished, and this is the time to do it. Of all the defects which damned the Versailles League, the worst is the fact that it is based upon force and that it throughout contemplates the keeping up of armies and navies. As Senator Knox so well put it in his public statement of October 23:

> The proposed covenant, instead of abolishing war, actually sanctions, breeds, and commands it. Moreover, it absolutely requires that every future war shall be a potential world war and that we shall be an active participant in every such war. . . . Hold in mind that we are to give up the power to say when we shall have war, when peace, what shall our army number, how many vessels of war we shall have, how, when, and where, and under what conditions shall our army and navy be used. . . .

Senator Knox is a practical man who has been Secretary of State. He did not hesitate to demand "a true League of Nations under which controversies may be judicially determined and the curse of war outlawed and made an international crime." When a man of this type takes this position, the proposal to outlaw war cannot be set down as a mere dream of pacifist theorists or of unpractical idealists.

But Senator Knox has had other suggestions to make in line with the position of *The Nation*. These are that all annexations, exactions, or seizures, by force or duress, shall from now on be null and void. This great step forward is quite within the power of the Hague Conference, but beyond all this *The Nation* urges the establishment of a real world court. We have recently [September 25] pointed out how utterly faulty is the organization of the new world court to be established under the existing League of Nations. The Hague Tribunal, as at present constituted, similarly cannot function in a way to preserve the peace of the world. It should be reconstructed so that it may settle all disputes relating to purely international matters; it should sit as a judicial body with jurisdiction over all parties to a dispute upon the petition of any party to the dispute or of any nation which has entered into the agreement to make this Tribunal the real international court of the world as supreme in its field as our Supreme Court within our boundaries.

The point is, of course, that if war is outlawed such doctrines as those of military necessity, retaliation, and reprisal, now the excuse for many a wanton aggression and the starting-point of many an imperialistic land-grabbing venture, would be done away with. The Hague Conference would, therefore, have the vital duty of preparing the codification of the existing international law. But there is nothing more important for the Conference to do if it meets at The Hague than to demand immediate and universal disarmament. We have no doubt whatever that that would be one of the first planks in Senator Knox's platform and foremost among proposals which Mr. Harding may make. Unless disarmament comes soon, the financial ruin of Europe is inevitable. The assertion of French imperialists that the French army shall, League or no League, never be allowed hereafter to fall below a permanent peace strength of 700,000 men—a force larger by nearly 100,000 men than the Kaiser's army in 1913—shows what determined efforts must be made to do away with the whole business. Disarmament is, moreover, absolutely necessary to the welfare of the United States, for, according to official figures of the United States Government, 92.8 per cent of our enormous expenditure of $5,686,005,606 in the fiscal year ending June

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30, 1920, or $5,279,621,263, went to payments for past and future wars—only 7.2 per cent for all the great creative expenditures of Government and the cost of the civilian machinery! No one can read these figures and not realize that disarmament is at once the most practical and constructive suggestion which can be made at this time. If President-elect Harding will but take the lead in these matters in accordance with his pledge, and deliberately call the nations in association to outlaw war, the Republican Party will have much to pride itself upon and the country still greater grounds for thankfulness for the "decease" of the Versailles League. If the United States takes the lead, the other nations must follow suit. There is daily proof that they will be glad to do so.

On Hating the Provinces

EMERSON lived in Concord and took villages for granted, as natural microcosms in any one of which a sage might study the world. Whitman lived in Manhattan and sent his imagination on strong flights over the entire body of his land, and to the remotest regions, neither denying nor rejecting whatever signs of life he saw. Lincoln in Springfield, whitherto by no means all the philosophies had come and little enough of culture in any composition, mastered not only an incomparable wisdom but an incomparable style. To no one of these men could it have been quite understandable that a second or third generation after them would begin to display among certain of its intellectual leaders that restless and intense hatred of the "provinces" which marks, for example, the critics of Paris and the professors of Berlin. Yet something of precisely this sort has come to pass. Voice after voice is added to the regiments of criticism being raised against suburban Philistia and the villatic bourgeoisie.

That is to say, a reaction is commencing against the frontier which has had so large a hand in making us. It is no longer a natural device to put critical sagacity in the mouth of a rural sage. When Lowell created Hosea Biglow he did so with the brash originality of a young man who was taking venturesome shots at his age; no young American of Lowell's scholarship would think a second time of such a device today. Josh Billings and Artemus Ward to all but a few have come to seem "old stuff." Even Mr. Dooley was not a crossroads loafer but a native son of the city streets. In return for a long course of ridicule from rustic philosophers a new order of *philosophes* is striking back. We need not wonder, perhaps, that the riposte is often acrimonious; the weight of all this village ridicule has often been heavy. We need not feel too much distressed at the look of snobbishness which some of the critics of our frontier somewhat too continually wear; nothing ought to be so easy to forgive as a zeal for enlightenment. It is important to remember, however, that there is a point of vantage a little above this particular critical melee from which the battle appears less crucial than it doubtless appears to those who wage it.

That point of vantage is the artist's, at least so far as the artist is concerned with the reproduction of life without the Puritan's anxiety to make it—or to make it out—the kind of life he thinks it ought to be. The moralist condemns the "bad" people and the wit condemns the dull; but these are phases of argument. With argument the dramatist or novelist is much less concerned. His task is first of all a representation of what he finds, and his obligation ends—though he may decide to do more—when he has represented it. At his lowest level he yields himself wholly to the manners of his society and sets them forth with implied approbation, as if they were the laws of God. At a higher level, he turns violently against its prejudices and assails them as if they were the sins of Satan. But there is a level higher still, from which, as he looks upon his community, he sees it as men and women involved in the exercises of life, and he makes his record of them without either uncritical admiration or vexed recrimination. Those of our novelists and dramatists who now hate our provinces most are nearly all dissatisfied men lately escaped from stodginess and devoted to getting their revenges. In this fashion the heretic, while his wounds still smart, lashes back at the doctrines which oppressed him. But the truly emancipated spirit no longer has time for recrimination or revenge. He goes, as artist, about his proper business, accepting stupidity as his material as well as intelligence, vice as well as virtue, gentleness as well as cruelty. In every community, he knows, all the types and tendencies of humanity may be found, and it does not occur to him to be partisan of one neighborhood—town or country—against another. He knows, too, that familiarity with mankind comes partly from affection for it, and that the truth is therefore not unrelated to affection. How then shall he tell the truth about the provinces so long as he feels nothing but animosity for them? It was not in this temper that Fielding drew Squire Western, or Scott his Caleb Balderstone, or Balzac poor stupid Père Goriot. After long years in which this temper has sweetened and softened American fiction far too much, we do indeed need more iron in it. But, likewise, it is well to remember that hatred rarely speaks the last word.

A Notable Prison Report

IN the midst of the political reaction in which we live it is both encouraging and necessary to note the steady progress toward betterment of our social conditions along various lines, else would the faint-hearted lose all faith. In the matter of prison reform, for instance, the advance being made all over the country deserves far more attention than it has received. We are beginning to learn that prisoners are an integral part of civilization, that they cannot be brushed aside and forgotten. The duty of society so far from having ended has only begun when the doors of the prison close upon the convicted man. Nowhere else in the world are so many kinds of men gathered together under one roof as in a prison. They are alike only in the fact that they have been adjudged guilty under the law. But since the theories of Lombroso have lost their sanctity, we are compelled to admit that law-breaking, or criminal behavior, is not due to a peculiar quality carrying with it definite physical stigmata. All sorts of men are criminals for all sorts of reasons. The problem is well brought out in the remarkable report just issued by the New York State Prison Survey Committee headed by Mr. Adolph Lewisohn. Says the report:

Before the representatives of the committee there were 5,300

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men ranging in ages from fifteen to seventy-eight, ranging in education from no schooling to post-graduate work, ranging in intelligence from zero to a maximum comparable to that in the outside world, ranging in desire to make good from nothing to 100 per cent, ranging in inside vocational assignments from floor cleaner to the task of imparting knowledge in schoolrooms.

In response to the growing public demand for better conditions in the prisons of his State, Governor Smith, of New York, appointed the Lewisohn committee to investigate and report. Their recommendations are of the widest interest. First of all they urge an effective, scientific system of examination and classification so that prisoners may be treated as their mental capacity and their social background demand. This work requires a laboratory and the appointment of trained psychiatrists and vocational experts, and already the task of altering Sing Sing Prison over into a clearing house and reception station is under way—in itself a wonderful step forward. When one considers the revolting immoralities and brutalities which have gone on in this institution for decades past, and recalls that the whole spirit of that institution has been to confirm old offenders in their bad ways and to make professional prisoners of first offenders, the sounding of the old prison's knell marks a revolution indeed.

Next in importance to the classification of convicts is industrial training, a matter usually neglected or carried on in antiquated workshops for more or less useless labor, the men working listlessly through processes that make certain their unfitness for the industrial system in the world beyond the prison walls. They work as inefficiently as slaves work, without interest or incentive; their technical wage is only an insult to their ambition. The committee recommends a carefully regulated, honest wage system based on the actual output of the shops. Not only will this provide an incentive to labor and help produce that habit of steady industry which so many inmates need, but it will solve the acute problem of supporting the prisoners' families on the outside. That the incarceration of the bread-winner of a family should throw upon his wife the double task of housework and financial support or force her to apply for charity seems grossly absurd. The committee had the assistance of industrial experts and union leaders in working out a solution of the problem which would not injure the interests of free labor. Coupled with proper equipment and adequate pay, the committee advocates vocational guidance and training to fit the prisoner for a trade or profession in line with his own interests and abilities.

The report, of course, urges necessary improvements in the physical conditions of prisons, in recreation, in diet, in religious influences; it discusses the use of farm lands for prison labor. It speaks a cautious word of commendation of the famous Mutual Welfare League that is worth quoting:

> By this time it must be evident that the committee looks with favor upon any prison organization which introduces a new set of impulses which emphasize the social aspects of life, and develop initiative and cooperation of individuals and of groups.

Governor Smith deserves a large share of the credit for the excellent work of the committee and the reforms already under way. More than any other Governor he has shown sympathetic understanding of prison problems. Much of the work undertaken during his administration will necessarily be left undone when his term expires. The citizens of the State must see to it that his successor puts into effect the excellent suggestions of the Lewisohn committee.

The Haul of Fame

FAME has drawn up her quinquennial net on University Heights and out of 177 men tried for, six unusually valuable ones have been caught: Samuel Langhorne Clemens, James Buchanan Eads, Patrick Henry, William Thomas Green Morton, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, and Roger Williams. Of twenty-seven women but one is selected for this particular eminence: Alice Freeman Palmer. Hardly ever before has a choice been made by the electorate of the Hall of Fame to which fewer exceptions could be taken. Mrs. Palmer deserves fame, for she had greatness. If Morton, the discoverer of ether, should not be famous, few benefactors of mankind have any right to be. Eads and Saint-Gaudens in their different ways were both geniuses. It is pleasant to find Mark Twain in this new list—the first of our humorists to attract such recognition.

But what are Roger Williams and Patrick Henry doing in this gallery? Did not Williams lift up his voice against the anointed heads of Massachusetts; and did he not contend with them on points of doctrine and government until they could no longer endure him; and did they not threaten to send him back to England till he slipped out and set up his own plantation in Rhode Island, where—so bitter was his radicalism—he even refused to persecute the Quakers and engaged in only literary controversies with them? And Patrick Henry, of all Americans! He incited to revolution if ever a man did. And not only was he a rebel against the distant king in England, but he was remarkably shaky as regards the gentry and the old regime in Virginia, snubbing the rich planters and championing the rights of the Dissenters. Both Williams and Henry, as it turned out, were on the winning side in their controversies, and perhaps some of the harshest feeling about them has died down. But we cannot believe that any red-blooded American will make allowances for that. These men stood up against the laws of their country; they desired to change them; they were willing to make a row about it.

Or is there something in the effect of time that makes radicalism harmless as time passes? Roger Williams was a radical in the seventeenth century, Patrick Henry in the eighteenth. But in the twentieth century it is different. For that matter the nineteeth is still not quite safe. There are the names of Walt Whitman and John Brown and Susan B. Anthony, among others, on the list of candidates for the Hall of Fame who got some votes but not enough for election. If Whitman is not a great seer and poet, no American is; but his metrical innovations have never been forgiven him. John Brown marched with all the armies in Europe during the late war, but he fought in a controverted cause, and agreement as to him is still impossible. The recent victory of woman suffrage might reasonably have assigned Susan B. Anthony to the winners, and so to the deservers of fame; but there are still anti-suffragists abroad. Long after great men and women have survived their own antagonists the spiritual and intellectual sons and daughters of their antagonists live on and in various fashions temper the fame which naturally seeks the great. Not even three hundred years, however, seem to have been enough to win a place in the Hall of Fame for that early American here known as Pocahontas Rolfe—now in the Elysian Fields doubtless consoled for her exclusion by the kindly words of Eve Adam and Cleopatra Caesar.

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The Central European Conspiracy

By EUGENE S. BAGGER

THE publication by the Social Democratic press of Vienna and Prague of a series of secret documents taken from the archives of the Hungarian Legation in Vienna furnishes first-hand evidence as to the reality of the danger that threatens the peace of Europe—poor unstable edifice at best—at the hands of the reckless militarists now controlling the government of Hungary. On September 22 the first batch of these state papers appeared simultaneously in *Vilagossag*, the weekly organ of the Magyar (non-Bolshevik) Independent Socialist refugees in Vienna, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* of the same city, and the *Pravo Lidu*, the right-wing Social Democratic daily of Prague. Further disclosures followed, and were discussed on the floor of the Austrian National Assembly; and although they encountered a very broadside of denials on the part of the Magyar government, their authenticity is established beyond doubt by intrinsic and circumstantial evidence, and has been officially recognized by the Austrian and Czecho-Slovak governments.

Essentially these documents—mostly confidential reports sent by Colonel Arpad Reich, head of the press bureau of the Magyar legation, to Dr. Tibor Eckhardt, who occupies the corresponding post in the Budapest Foreign Office—contain little that was not known and suspected before. That the government of the Hungarian White Terror is fostering an irredentist movement and preparing an armed uprising in Slovakia; that its agents are organizing and financing anti-Semitic and royalist propaganda in German-Austria; royalist and disruptionist propaganda in Bohemia, was only too well known. Nevertheless the documents are astounding, not only because their official character puts the stamp of finality upon the case, but also because of the overwhelming bulk of detail and of the unmatched picture they present of the mentality of the present rulers of Hungary and the plans of their French abettors.

It is in their bearing upon the intrigues jointly engineered by French militarists and Horthy's government that the Vienna revelations possess the greatest importance. Throughout the documents runs the red thread of what is at Budapest euphemistically called the "French orientation"—in other words, the working agreement between the Magyar government and certain very influential circles at Paris by which the former actually submits to French military and economic vassalage in exchange for a promise to rectify the Hungarian frontiers as set down by the Treaty of Trianon, and a connivance at monarchist-militarist restoration.

The French-Magyar agreements, *Az Ember* says, grew out of the treaty negotiating the lease of the Hungarian state railways—which today are Hungary's soundest financial asset—to a French syndicate for fifty years. Already this railroad convention contains a political clause of an amazing nature. According to Sections VIII and IX, the Hungarian government is bound to consult the diplomatic representative of the French government concerning every measure, those of domestic policy expressly included, which has a bearing on any clause of the treaty; and the suggestions of the French diplomatic representative must be answered within three days. If this does not mean the establishment of a French protectorate over Hungary in the good old straight Central African sense, it means nothing at all.

The gist of the simultaneously concluded political treaty is that France agrees to the relegation of the Treaty of Trianon to the well-known heap of scraps of paper. That treaty abolishes universal military service in Hungary and reduces the Magyar army to a strength of 35,000. The French now authorize Hungary to retain universal military service. The size of the army is not stated, but Hungary can apparently suit herself about that, subject only to French approval. France also agrees to secure for Hungary a rectification of the frontiers set down by the Treaty of Trianon—at the expense, it should be added, of Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania, her formal allies. Finally, the third agreement is a military convention by which Hungary offers to furnish an army of 150,000 against Soviet Russia and to put it under French command.

Nothing is more natural than that the French government should have issued a denial of these treaties, admitting only the existence of a certain arrangement concerning the lease of the Hungarian railroads. On the other hand, Count Teleki, the Magyar premier, in an open session of the Hungarian National Assembly, boasted of the "alliance" with France as the greatest achievement of his regime; and several of the Paris newspapers, notably the *Matin*, similarly spoke of the alliance as an accomplished fact. According to *Becsi Magyar Ujsag*, the organ of the bourgeois refugees in Vienna, the inconspicuous retirement from the Quai d'Orsay of M. Paleologue, former French ambassador to Petrograd and originator of the French-Magyar rapprochement, was due to the realization of this particular blunder. The same newspaper is informed that the British government formally protested in Paris against the agreement concerning the lease of Magyar state railways on the ground that all assets of the Hungarian government are tied down as security for reparations and cannot be disposed of without consent of the Reparation Commission.

In a sense the rapprochement of Millerand's France and the Hungary of Horthy is the consequence and acknowledgment of the débâcle of the European "order" created by the Treaty of Versailles. On the one hand, Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania refuse to be the dupes and tools (to use the blunt expression of M. Take Jonescu, the Rumanian Foreign Minister) of France against Soviet Russia, and have launched, in conjunction with Jugoslavia, a foreign policy of their own, culminating in the formation of the Little Entente. On the other hand, France fears the union of Austria with Germany even more than she hates Soviet Russia, and is prepared to prevent that outcome by letting loose the detachments of Horthy's terrorist army upon Vienna. Collusion with the Hungarian government is the logical concomitant of a French policy which, in Bavaria, favors and finances the Wittelsbach restoration regardless of the fact that the Bavarian royalists, while professing separatist sentiments in the presence of their French backers, are at the same time in close contact with the Ludendorff group of Pan-German restorationists. That this French policy, if allowed to run its whole length, will land Europe in another war and France in complete disaster has been pointed out and requires no repetition here.

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Italy: How the Government Met the Revolution

By HIRAM K. MODERWELL

IN the official version of foreign newspapers, the recent seizure of Italian factories by the workmen, resulting in a nation-wide compact for workers' supervision in industry, was made possible only by the "incredibly supine attitude of the Italian Government." "Why," asked the press, especially the French press, "did Giolitti not send the troops to eject the lawless workers? What can you expect when a government is too spineless to enforce its own laws?"

This explanation of the Italian workers' success is sufficient to those who have forgotten (if they ever knew) that Europe has been shaken by a great war; that revolution is in reality, and not merely in headlines, stalking abroad; and that the Peace of Versailles has condemned everybody to grab what he can get. These truths are obscured from the American editor, who never really felt the war and who understands the labor question only in a Palmeresque sense. They are obscured from the French, who are still shaken with the reaction from the terror of the German invasion. The British, who were at the time dealing respectfully with their Miners' Union, were more sympathetic. But few persons outside of Italy or the defeated lands could quite appreciate how hollow was the fashionable chatter about "firmness" and "ruthless suppression."

Premier Giolitti's official explanation of the Italian Government's attitude, presented to the Senate after the business was settled, was full of good sense. He pointed out that a social adjustment was taking place the world over, that government must take account of new facts and not act merely on the ancient slogans; that if the workers had temporarily seized private property, they had perhaps taken the hint from the army of profiteers (including some of the owners of these same factories) who had seized the public wealth during the war. He asserted that to have sent the soldiers to seize and hold all the Italian factories before the workers' occupation would have been to "lock up" the greater part of the army in places where it could be besieged and where it would be useless for the maintaining of public order; that on the other hand, to have dislodged the workers after the seizure would have been to cause great bloodshed and to punish with death, in many hundreds or thousands of cases, the mere misdemeanor of technical theft. His words were informed with an understanding that the world is in change, and that it is not safe to keep the law a lifeless imitation of a bygone age.

But premiers in their public apologies do not admit more than they must. And Giolitti gave only the least startling reasons for his action. Indeed, his statement, although received by the Senate as "satisfactory," is scarcely convincing. The public does not soberly believe that premiers, especially premiers like Giolitti who advertise themselves as "strong," hesitate to "punish" with death an armed defiance of the authority of the state. Few premier hearts bleed thus! If Giolitti withheld the order to seize the factories by force, it was for more substantial reasons.

Sober middle-class Italian men of affairs say that he withheld the order because he believed the army was infected with revolution and would not have obeyed. I cannot believe that this is true. Sober middle-class Italian men of affairs are anything but sober when the working class makes unaccustomed gestures. They are quite the most hysterical individuals in Italy. They see red revolution where an experienced revolutionist sees nothing but a demonstration. They have seen half a dozen revolutions approaching in Italy since the Armistice, where the professional revolutionists have seen only one or two. The bugbear of the "unreliability of the army," therefore, made headway among the sober middle-class, though it was never taken too optimistically by the Socialists. The Italian army, that is to say, the mercenary Guardia Regia or national police, is, like other armies, composed of workers and peasants who believe most of what is told them, and do not want to be shot for insubordination. Generally speaking it is willing to obey orders, but generally speaking it is not willing to shoot its friends in its own *paese* or village. The military authorities are aware of this fact and commonly assign Sicilian regiments to Milan and thereabouts. Sicilian peasants are not mortally averse to shooting Milanese industrial workmen. The issue in Italy between revolution and reaction is not yet sufficiently universal and vulgarized to have penetrated every illiterate Sicilian head. Therefore, I am inclined to believe that the army would, on Giolitti's order, have attacked occupied factories at Milan and quickly captured them. If the armed resistance had been vigorous and general, it is of course possible that the army would have reconsidered before moving to the second attack. But I am convinced that not even the most sanguine revolutionists anticipated a general revolt and mutiny in the army. At the most there would have come a period of uncertainty and anarchy. From such a period anything might develop. The most daring revolutionists therefore hoped that Giolitti would show "firmness." As usual, the utmost hopes of the most daring revolutionists were exactly the hopes of the French journalists. But the issue would at most have been doubtful.

The Italian Government was in reality thinking, not in military but in economic terms. It feared—and its fears were mathematically accurate—that the use of force would provoke a retaliation in kind. If the factories were attacked, they would be sabotaged. To have vindicated the sanctity of private ownership of social capital would have been to damage that social capital to the extent of innumerable millions of lire. It is useless to say that this social capital was legally private property, and as such deserving the protection of the state. It was also social capital, and as such of incalculable value not only to the capitalist owners but to the nation. It is likewise useless to say that the workers occupying the factories were common lawbreakers. If Italian industry were ruined, Italian export trade paralyzed, Italian exchange shot down to a level with that of defeated Germany, Italian economy bankrupt, and foreign grain practically unpurchasable with Italian lire, the Italian people would have been little consoled to be told that this had been done to vindicate the dogma that Italian industry was not social capital but private property.

For the use of the troops would not have provoked merely the destruction of machinery within the occupied metal

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factories. It would have provoked the occupying of all the other factories in Italy. The problem of seizing a few factories would overnight have become the problem of seizing all the factories. The movement, led by the Anarchists and extreme left Socialists, to extend occupation to all Italy, was only restrained by the reasonable attitude of the Government, which promised immediate returns without bloodshed. As it was, with all the persuasion the Government could exert, the proposal of the Socialists to extend the seizure to all Italy was defeated in the Trade Union Congress by only three to two. Grant that the army could have done its job. Grant that it could have captured one factory after another, and could have burst the barricades erected behind it during each operation, yet what would have been the economic outlook for Italy when each factory so captured would have meant a factory destroyed? The result would have been disastrous.

This very material analysis does not take account of the incommensurable values of proletarian discontent following such a bloody repression. The "labor morale" of Italy, already low, because of the popular belief that every employer is a profiteer, would after the death of several thousand workmen have turned into a permanent strike on the job. With such a paralysis of Italian production, Italian credit would have suffered a *débâcle*. The Italian foreign trade for the year 1919 was, in round numbers, sixteen milliard lire of imports and five milliards of exports. For 1920, on the basis of the figures for the first three months, the imports would be thirteen milliard and the exports six milliard, reducing the deficit from eleven milliard to seven. This moderate improvement was foreseen without assuming any extraordinary labor trouble. But the recent agitation, it is estimated, took a round milliard off the exports. What would be the result if the whole Italian working class were embittered by the slaughter of some thousands of their comrades; by the sight of Italian finance and commerce alone flourishing from the ever-rising cost of living; by the knowledge that the blood and iron of the state had been sent against them in the service of the profiteers?

At the very least, production would have slumped as it has not slumped since the attempt at reconstruction began. The expected improvement of four milliards in the trade balance of this year over last, already reduced to three, would have been wiped out. The foreign value of the lire, which sank during the dispute from sixteen to the dollar to twenty-six, would have rushed to join the hopeless mark and crown. Foreign capital, which the country desperately needs, would have shunned Italy like a pest. The problem of buying annually thirty-two million quintals of foreign grain would have become well nigh hopeless. The collapse of public economy would have precipitated the very social anarchy to avoid which the flippant French journalists invoked the troops.

We need not, therefore, and should not, put Giolitti's "weakness" down to fear of the military result of barricade fighting. What menaced Italy was not full-fledged revolution, but economic disintegration. Giolitti averted this for the time. He did more. One of the most expert politicians in Europe, he knew how in one stroke to avoid defeat and bid for victory. What he did was not only to avert the disintegration of Italian economy. It was to threaten the disintegration of Italian revolution. The Socialists were nothing less than terrified by the result.

New Irish Commission Members

PREPARATIONS for the inquiry into conditions in Ireland, to be conducted by the American Commission on Ireland, are being pressed rapidly. A special committee consisting of United States Senator David I. Walsh, former Governor Joseph W. Folk, and Dr. Frederic C. Howe has been appointed to arrange for the inquiry, and to draw up the order of procedure and the schedule of witnesses.

The members of the Commission have expressed much concern over the new outbreaks of violence in Ireland during the past week, including the burning of several towns by British Black and Tans, and several pitched battles between Irishmen and policemen. Advices from Ireland indicate the increased gravity of the situation. In view of all the circumstances the Commission has raised its membership to seven, the better to cope with the tasks before it, and may add further to its personnel.

The two new members are Raymond Robins, of Chicago, and Alexander P. Moore, editor of the Pittsburg *Leader*. Each of these men was associated prominently with the late Theodore Roosevelt in the Progressive movement, and each took an active part in the recent Harding campaign. Colonel Robins has been a leader in numerous campaigns for social, political, and religious betterment.

In addition to the delegation of bishops from the Irish hierarchy, announced last week, the Commission has invited the following witnesses from Ireland:

The Mayor of Belfast; the Mayor of Londonderry; the Chairman of the Urban Council of Mallow; John Derham, Town Commissioner of Balbriggan; Denis Morgan, Chairman of the Urban Council of Thurles; Mrs. Thomas MacCurtain, widow of the former Lord Mayor of Cork who was slain in March; Donald O'Gallachain, who has succeeded MacSwiney as Lord Mayor of Cork; Miss Irene E. Swanzy, sister of police inspector Swanzy, who was murdered at Lisburn. Members of the Commission believe that these witnesses and others to be invited will aid materially in presenting to the public a picture of the state of affairs in Ireland.

The Commission received through Miss Jane Addams a message from the Manchester, England, branch of the Women's International League, which recently conducted a first-hand investigation into conditions in certain parts of Ireland, offering to send a delegation here immediately to give testimony before the Commission: "We feel that the matter is very urgent," wrote the English women. A cable was sent to Manchester inviting the delegation to proceed by the first available boat. Steps were also taken by the Commission to get in touch with members of the British Society of Friends, which has been conducting an inquiry into Irish conditions.

The Commission has sent a letter to the British Ambassador asking him to use his good offices to facilitate the securing of passports for witnesses from Ireland. So far as is known, none of the Irish witnesses has yet been granted a passport, though Sir Auckland Geddes assured the editors of *The Nation* some time ago that the British Government would not withhold passports from witnesses on the ground that they wished to give testimony here. The Commission can be counted on to press this matter vigorously, if there is undue delay.

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Cooperation, the People's Business

By JAMES PETER WARBASSE

IN the turmoil and tumult of a world in the throes of economic reorganization, one mighty force is playing a part with system and quiet. The cooperative movement advances steadily, bringing about as it grows, revolutionary changes in the organization of society. It does not suffer the disadvantages of uncertainty; its policy is well formulated; it is systematized to the point of standardization. It is today the most substantially organized international movement in the world. People who have cared to get the information are aware that in the European countries about one-third of the population is now embraced in cooperative societies, which are carrying on almost every form of social and economic activity from conducting their own stores and factories to running schools and theaters. It is interesting to recall in this connection that the British Cooperative Wholesale Society has become the largest wholesale business in the British Empire, and that the largest bakeries in the world are the cooperative bakeries of Vienna and Glasgow. For three-quarters of a century in Europe they have been steadily forging ahead, building a great economic bulwark against private greed, whereas in the same period here in the United States similar cooperative societies have started, made fatal mistakes and perished. Three big organizations, the Sovereigns of Industry, the Knights of Labor and the Right Relationship League, in the last century undertook to start large cooperative enterprises in the United States. The magnitude of their undertakings, however, did not guarantee their success. They failed chiefly because of the lack of understanding of the fundamental principles of cooperation.

Cooperation is not an experiment. It is a method. Knowledge of this method is the only sure road to success. The fundamental principles are: one vote for each member; invested capital to receive not more than a low rate of fixed interest; and the savings, represented by the difference between cost and selling price, to be used for the common social good or returned to members in proportion to their patronage. A central organization, the Cooperative League of America, 2 West 13th Street, New York City, was formed in 1916 to supply the necessary standardized information and the technique of administration for societies all over the United States. In 1918 it called the first national convention of cooperative consumers ever held in this country. The second national cooperative convention will be held at Cincinnati in November of this year. So rapidly are societies multiplying in this country that at least 300 a year are added to those at present conducting stores and other enterprises. The great majority of consumers' societies are organized according to Rochdale principles, which were worked out with infinite pains by that little band of weavers in Rochdale, England, in 1844, and which have been followed everywhere by successful societies. Some day these principles may come to be recognized as the Magna Charta of the new world of industry. Just in proportion to the degree in which the letter and spirit of the Rochdale method are lived up to are societies now prospering. Strict accounting and auditing, educational work, expansion into other fields, and a vision of the aim and destiny of cooperation are factors which are necessary for success. And then in all countries today cooperation is closely allied with the labor movement. The workers of the United States are awakening to its importance at last, and turning to it to solve their problems. A significant omen is the fact that there are now 12,000 agricultural producers' societies in this country.

Cooperative banks and credit unions have made comparatively slow progress in the United States. When we think of the great cooperative banks of Germany, England, and Denmark we realize our own weakness. In Massachusetts there are about sixty small banking societies and one large one. A dozen other States are developing these societies slowly. The principle of the cooperative bank is fundamental: the profits go to the patrons of the bank, the lenders and the borrowers; stockholding is limited; the stockholders merely receive a fixed interest on their capital; each member has but one vote.

Except in the farming regions, cooperation is generally strongest where there is the largest proportion of foreign-born people—in the Northern and Eastern States—and weakest, naturally, in the Southern States. In some districts there are groups of distributive societies. The chief centers of activity are in the lower part of California, in Minnesota, Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, Wisconsin, Washington, Illinois, and western Pennsylvania. Scattered through New England, eastern Pennsylvania, and the grain States also are many societies which have gone into a great variety of enterprises besides store-keeping. Among them are bakeries, laundries, printing plants, restaurants, recreational organizations, banks, milk distribution, slaughter houses, motion picture shows, canneries, wholesales, telephone companies, housing societies, insurance societies, and schools. There are 750 cooperative societies in Kansas conducting retail stores. Yet one obstacle to cooperative growth in the United States is the large amount of spurious cooperation. In every part of the country promoters are projecting societies which vary from the wildest and most fanciful schemes of the well-meaning to the rankest sort of humbug. These enterprises are taking millions of dollars from the working people and leaving them forever hostile in their ignorance to true cooperation.

The common expression of cooperation in this country is the grocery store. That serves usually as the entering wedge, but some begin with a bakery, as is the practice in Belgium. Such an example is the Purity Cooperative Association in Paterson, New Jersey. This latter was organized in 1906. Private bakers have done everything possible to destroy it—even to giving away bread. But it grows every year. Now it has over 1,000 members. During the war when all of the other bakeries were selling bread at ten cents a pound the Purity sold it with profit at six and a half cents. Whereupon the private bakeries succeeded in having the Food Administration compel the Purity to raise its price to ten cents. This coercion held for three days; during that time an extra profit of $600 was made. This money was paid back to the consumers, and thus the majesty of the law was defeated. This society is responsible for keeping down the price of bread for a million people in northern New Jersey, most of whom, however, have never heard of it. The

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Purity society does a bakery business of $250,000 a year with a profit to the people of $18,000. It has just erected an additional building costing $70,000 and has added a grocery store and meat market to its enterprises. The profits of this society are divided as follows after paying five per cent interest on share capital: 25 per cent to reserve fund, 30 per cent to members in proportion to purchases, 10 per cent to Labor Lyceum, 10 per cent to certain educational and charitable institutions, 10 per cent to unemployment fund, 5 per cent to employees' insurance, 5 per cent to education, and 5 per cent to sinking fund. All of this is money which otherwise would go into the pockets of private bakers. A Finnish society in Brooklyn, New York, has just completed a bakery costing $120,000. There are 30 societies with bakeries in the United States. Some are exclusively bread-producing societies; some conduct other enterprises.

The laundry has served as the start in some places. Little Rock, Arkansas, has no other cooperative society, but since this laundry was started in the spring of 1919 one of the largest private laundries has gone out of business. At Chatfield, Minnesota, there is a laundry in connection with a cooperative creamery. In answer to the question, "How can we keep the boys and girls on the farm?" the wife of one of the members wrote, "Start a cooperative laundry and make the old-time washday a holiday." This laundry pays ten per cent savings-returns on patronage.

Milk distribution is successfully carried on by a number of societies. The Finnish Cooperative Society at Fitchburg, Massachusetts, found that the farmers were killing their cattle because they could not make a living producing milk at 7¾ cents a quart for the private distributing companies. The society made contracts with the farmers to pay them 8¼ cents. It now collects the milk with its own trucks, takes it to its central pasteurizing station, and distributes it to the 400 members' families at 14 cents, as against 18 cents charged by the private dealers. It is delivered within six hours of the time it is taken from the farms. Two deliveries daily are made in the summer. These consumers see to it that no undesirable milk is taken.

Of the nationalities which have made the best progress in this country, the Finns are peculiar and supreme. Theirs are the most substantial societies. The United Cooperative Society has twenty-eight branches in eastern Massachusetts at Fitchburg, Maynard, Worcester, and Norwood. At these places the Finns have cooperative grocery stores, clothing stores, restaurants, boarding houses, bakeries, community centers, printing plants, and milk routes.

Of the existing distributive societies in the United States few are more than thirty years old. The society at Olathe, Kansas, was organized in 1876. Its store does a business of $200,000 a year and makes a net surplus-saving of $15,000 a year for its members. A society at Ishpeming, Michigan, dates back to 1890; it has over 1,000 members, and does a business of $300,000 a year. The Tamarack Cooperative Association, of Calumet, Mich., was started in 1890; it has 1,700 members; every year it has paid savings-returns on purchases varying from 10 to 13 per cent; in the last 20 years it has paid back to its members in cash $1,595,185.

The next step in the expansion of cooperation after the consumers' store is the federation of stores into wholesales. Several groups of societies have already organized local wholesales. The Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union has a wholesale house at Omaha, Nebraska, which sells groceries, clothing, hardware and machinery. It has a mail order department, the illustrated catalogue of which carries most everything from mittens to mowing machines. Its annual business runs up into the millions. There are also wholesale societies with warehouses at San Francisco; Superior, Wisconsin; and East St. Louis, Illinois. The latter is conducted by the Central States Wholesale Cooperative Society; it has about 90 stores connected with it, mostly organized among the mine workers; it has been in existence only two years, and does a business of $300,000 a month; it owns its own building, and last year added a reserve of $20,000 to its $300,000 capital; its business is not in the hands of that paragon of astuteness, the "American business man," but is conducted by men who have come up out of the coal mines of Illinois.

Besides these a number of groups carry on collective buying without a warehouse. The New England Cooperative Wholesale, with headquarters in Boston, serves thirty societies with a membership of 4,500 heads of families. The wholesale supplies these societies with over $2,000,000 worth of goods yearly. This wholesaling is carried on at an overhead expense of one-half of one per cent.

As the cooperative societies in the United States become federated in the Cooperative League they thus become connected with the world movement through membership in the International Cooperative Alliance, which holds an international congress every two years, and represents twenty-four countries with a total membership of 50,000,000 heads of families. Already international trade is carried on among these societies.

Of the 3,000 true cooperative distributive societies in the United States, those which are most successful are managed by working people. This is not a movement in which philanthropy plays a role. The members are developing self-reliance and a vision of the possibilities of their enterprise. The cooperative movement is teaching people to administer their own affairs. When the working man buys at the private store the private merchant gets the experience in the administration of a distributing industry. But when the working man and his neighbors start a store of their own to do their distributing themselves, they get the experience. And when they carry on their own banking and insurance business and organize their own wholesale houses, and build their own factories, and provide their own lands and dwellings, theaters and schools, telephones and steamship lines, they are training themselves in their own school for the great change; they are developing the system of business which the world must look to for its safety. European cooperators are doing all of these things. American cooperators are just beginning.

The weakness of the movement in the United States is that it is growing faster than it can educate men and women to administer it. Not propaganda but practical training in the fundamentals of cooperation is the pressing need. And the steps are now being taken to meet it. The leaders in the movement here understand the needs; the members are learning. Labor is grasping the idea that it can peacefully and without social shock supplant the present economic system of private profit. It realizes that to do so it must raise up from its own ranks the people who can organize and administer its enterprises. The cooperative movement provides the training and the organization for builders of the new society and offers them invaluable experience. It is wholly constructive.

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The Confession of John R. Rathom

IN the matter of a complaint lodged by Franklin D. Roosevelt against John R. Rathom, editor of the Providence *Journal*, Mr. Caffey, the United States District Attorney for the Southern District of New York, on October 28, stated that in his opinion no one knowing Mr. Rathom's record would believe his assertions. In this connection, Mr. Caffey made public the following abject confession which Mr. Rathom, on February 12, 1916, signed and delivered to the Attorney General of the United States, upon the advice and in the presence of his counsel.

In view of the widespread credence given to Mr. Rathom's so-called revelations during the war, the importance of his position as editor of one of the newspapers most widely quoted while the strife was on, and on account of his present position as a member of the Executive Committee of the Associated Press, this confession has unique value.

Only a small portion of the American press having given space to Mr. Rathom's account of the manner in which he humbugged the American public, *The Nation* believes it a duty to print the confession in full.

"My attention has been called to the embarrassment which your Department has been occasioned by the popular impression which prevails that I or the Providence *Journal* should be credited with the work which has been accomplished since the outbreak of the European War in the suppression of activities of German agents in this country, which impression has arisen not from the publication of matter in the Providence *Journal*, but from speeches which I have made on a few public occasions, and from statements which I may have made of similar character to private individuals, although I do not recall any individual to whom I made statements of a character similar to those objected to in my speeches.

"I feel that the general public opinion, which has rather unfortunately credited us with the actual bringing to justice of German spies and malefactors, has been misdirected to the extent that our only possible claim to valuable constructive work in the past 3½ years ought in fairness to be restricted to the educational value of our continued efforts, and to the newspaper enterprise which produced a great number of stories printed in our newspaper.

"The belief that the Providence *Journal* has specifically brought to justice any of these individuals creates an unjust impression, and does take away from the Department of Justice the full credit to which it is entitled for this work. We sincerely regret that this situation has arisen, and frankly declare that while we have presented a great deal of material of every kind to the Department of Justice, we have never been able to state that in any specific case we were adding materially to the Department's own knowledge of the situation, and we have aimed always to give the Department immediately the benefit of any information which has come to us which we thought would be of any value to it.

"The Providence *Journal's* sources of information have given us valuable knowledge of a great many matters, and have in most instances been of such a confidential character that we have felt compelled to cover them up by intentionally suggesting sources which did not actually exist. One specific illustration of this is the statement that the Providence *Journal's* own representatives were placed in the German and Austrian Embassies and in several of the foreign Consular offices throughout the country. It is not true that the Providence *Journal's* own representatives ever occupied positions of this kind. It is, however, true that in many cases we were enabled, through members of the Bohemian National Alliance and the Croatian and Serbian National Societies, to secure information of an important character from these Embassies and Consulates. My first connection with these Slavic elements came fifteen years ago, during my period of work on the Chicago *Herald*, and by reason of helpful publicity for them then, the Slavic societies have continued from that time to show their gratitude. Our direct connection with these Slavic organizations, however, as far as the anti-German work was concerned, came to us originally from British sources, through which we were first introduced to one or two of the leaders in this important work; and the major part of the documentary evidence which came into our possession came either through the British, Canadian, or American Government Intelligence sources. I, in turn, furnished copies of most of the information which came from these sources to your Department.

"In regard to the wireless revelations, while it is true that the Providence *Journal* was enabled to secure direct copies of all messages sent to and from Tuckerton and Sayville from the beginning of the European War, its own wireless station was not utilized in catching these messages. We were aided in this work by receiving the entire output of two of the highest powered wireless stations on the North American Continent, both of them in the control of one of the Allied Governments. We have worked in company with officials of the Government in attempting to decipher German codes in these wireless messages, and have from time to time furnished representatives of the Navy and Radio departments of the U. S. Government with copies of wireless messages in our possession, in order to enable them to check up and correct their own files.

"The statement made in my Boston address with regard to the arrival of Dr. Heinrich Albert in this country, and which had never been referred to in the columns of the Providence *Journal*, had as its basis the fact that one of our own representatives had the conversation described with Dr. Albert, but did not represent himself as coming from the German Embassy. Dr. Albert believed that he was talking with a representative of the Hearst newspapers.

"With regard to the typewritten statement which we declared had been handed by Ambassador Dumba to Ambassador Bernstorff, and which was supposed to be Ambassador Dumba's understanding of the attitude of the Administration as stated to him by Mr. Bryan, we have never sought to suggest and never have suggested that Mr. Bryan himself knew anything of the contents of this document. Our only claim was that it was presented by Ambassador Dumba to Ambassador Bernstorff in the form of a statement as his presumption from Mr. Bryan's interview with him. A copy of this document was furnished us directly through the sources outlined above.

"The suggested interview between Captain Boy-Ed and General Huerta in a New York hotel was printed by us in good faith, the entire material having been supplied to us from a source which we considered trustworthy. We have since ascertained, however, by conferences with officials of the Department of Justice, that it is doubtful if such a meeting was ever held, and that in any case no report of any such meeting was ever forwarded to the President of the United States. It came to our men second hand.

"With regard to the Werner Horn incident, the facts as stated by me in the Boston speech are practically correct. Any suggestion that the material was gathered by, or that Horn was arrested at the instigation of, any Providence *Journal* representative, is not true. The information came to us from Mr. Bielaski.

"I did furnish to the Secretary of the Navy the map in respect to wireless matters in the Philippines and certain information in respect thereto which I had secured from a former superintendent of the Atlantic Communication Company, who was present with me when I presented this material to Secretary Daniels.

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"In all my references to passport cases, I have never alluded to the Providence *Journal* as having any connection with any of the prosecutions arising from the discovery of passport frauds, although we were able to secure a great many evidences of passport frauds through the sources named above.

"I am positive that the stenographic report of my Boston speech in so far as it attributes to any of the activities of our representatives the arrest or internment of Paul Koenig or any of the Hamburg-American Line employees is inaccurate. I never made or intended to make any such statement. As far as we know, the Government officials are alone responsible for the Hamburg-American Line arrests.

"The statement, by an unfair context wrongly attributed to me in my Boston speech concerning Dr. Goricar's knowledge of a plot to blow up the Bremerton Navy Yard, is improper in that (1) it suggests a plot to blow up a Navy Yard, whereas Dr. Goricar's instructions simply were to make investigations of the location and activities of that Yard; and (2) because this particular incident related to a period prior to the beginning of the European War. Every statement printed by the Providence *Journal* with regard to Dr. Goricar and his relations with his Government is true.

"With regard to the activities and conviction of Consul-General Bopp in San Francisco, we did not have any representative of the Providence *Journal* in Bopp's office, nor did the information furnished by us, as far as we know, figure in Bopp's conviction, although we did succeed in securing and publishing a great many interesting details with regard to this case, not only through Canadian sources, but through our own staff; nor was any of the material developed by our staff in this case furnished to the Department, with the exception of a most important affidavit, the existence of which, as we have been notified only during the past few days, was known at the time to the Department.

"With reference to the statement in my Boston address regarding the celebration of the Du Pont explosion in Wilmington participated in by Captain Boy-Ed and Captain von Papen, the apparent suggestion that the revelation of this incident had anything to do with the elimination of these two Embassy officials, is entirely erroneous and without foundation, and no such suggestion has ever been made, with intent, through the columns of the Providence *Journal* or by myself. This instance was reported to us by G. B. Means, who was at that time in the confidential employ of Captain Boy-Ed, and in most of whose statements I had at no time placed any credence. The only corroboration I have now of this statement is the fact that Captain Boy-Ed and Means did make a long automobile trip together to Brooklyn on the particular night referred to. Every attempt of Mr. Means to get into communication with us, and every specific and improper activity of his of which the Providence *Journal* or I ever had any knowledge, was made the subject of immediate reference to the Department of Justice.

"The source of my information concerning the Ottawa fire is also Mr. Means. It is my specific recollection that in my conversation with Mr. Marshall, I told him that the Ottawa Parliament Building would be the first object of this attack, although I understand Mr. Marshall states that he does not remember that any specific place was mentioned.

"The information which we received concerning the damage to interned ships, and of the meeting attended by Ambassador Bernstorff at the German Club, came through Bohemian and Slavic sources.

"The matter of securing photographic copies in a hotel in Washington from the Embassies is covered by my first statement with respect to information obtained from the Embassies and Consulates.

"My source of information with respect to the 'hearts' story was a set of circumstantial reports made to me through the Slavic channels above referred to, and the person referred to who made the markings on the box was a young Croatian woman, a stenographer in the employ of Consul-General von Nuber, who was secretly aiding the British Government.

"In connection with my statement with regard to the great majority of the acts of property destruction, etc., having been performed by Austrians, I desire to say that this statement was made by me in the firm belief that it was true, and that my principal source of information leading me to generalize in this way was the continual reports made to me by the Bohemian and Slavic agents, who appeared firmly to believe that this was true. We have not in our possession, and had not at that time in our possession, more than a very few specific proofs of this statement.

"The statement attributed to me in my Boston speech about the Government being in possession of hundreds of cases of offers made by Austrians to damage plants, is not correct. Our knowledge of these matters is compassed by a number of communications forwarded by Austrian employees of plants to Austrian Consular officers, and which communications, intercepted by above-named agents, were sent by us to the Department of Justice. Only one or two of these specifically offer to perform improper acts, the majority of them asking for advice as to how they could be of use in performing improper acts. The total number does not exceed six or eight.

"With regard to the statement in my article as originally prepared for the January, 1918, *World's Work*, detailing the method by which information was procured over the wireless, that I was able to enlist the assistance of persons in whom the German Embassy had confidence in getting representatives into the Embassy and Consulates, this was intended to cover up the situation as above outlined and for the necessary protection of our sources of information, and is not literally true.

"With respect to the 'World Almanac' wireless message printed in the February, 1918, *World's Work*, this message was taken by us from a sheet dated from Newcastle, N. B., as being sent out from Nauen with no station named, and was part of a page of other material furnished through a foreign government.

"I do not mean to give the impression that, by my reference to the Slavic and Bohemian people, I was directing a large force of these men in their work, but simply that I secured from a number of their leaders with whom I was in personal touch information which they were able to obtain. During our work in connection with German activities we have at no time had any staff of people, outside of our own force, in our permanent employ. Beyond the activities of our own force, the work has been covered for us in a temporary way at various times for brief periods by from forty to fifty persons throughout the entire country. This number of persons, whose total special employment reached over one month of actual work, would probably total thirty, and the employment of none of them exceeded one year. The regular staff of the Providence *Journal* has not increased by more than six or seven. It is, however, a fact that many hundreds of Bohemian and Slavic people have been constantly at our call for whatever services we might ask them to render, and that they have repeatedly rendered such services directly to us without the intervention or aid of any other organization of government whatever, always with gratifying results and with no thought of reward except the knowledge that the Providence *Journal* desires and constantly advocates the autonomy of their countries at the close of the present war.

"The statement with respect to spies attributed to me in the New York *Times*, purporting to be a partial report of my speech before the Society of the Genesee on January 18, 1918, is in the main a fair transcript of my remarks. I spoke of two men, not 'three,' having been arrested at Detroit. In another part of the same report, I said, with reference to other persons, 'one of them, it seems, has a sick wife.' I did not say, as reported, 'but *some* of them, it seems, have sick wives.'

"I do not know the names of any German spies taken at Detroit beyond those which have become public property through the newspapers and court proceedings in that city. The infor-

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mation with regard to the release of German spies after having been caught, was brought to me voluntarily in my rooms at the Hotel Statler in Detroit on the morning of Sunday, December 10, 1917, by an officer of the United States Army, who thought I ought to know the conditions existing in Michigan with regard to the running down of spies in that territory. The information, with the exception of the names of the men referred to, was specific.

"My informant said that two Germans had been picked up at the Aviation Field at Camp Custer, after an attempt had been made to partially saw through the wires of aeroplane supports, and other wire ropes and guys had been treated with acids so that any severe strain in fast flights would wreck the planes. He added it had been discovered that these men had previously boasted in the Post Tavern at Grand Rapids—'a place filled with German agents'—that they were part of the same gang that had caused a disastrous accident to four Canadian aviators two weeks prior to that time, at the Aerodrome Camp on Lake Ontario, and that the work had been done in the same way. He added that for some mysterious reason these men were allowed to go free, although every army officer in camp was convinced of their guilt. He said also that the great trouble at Camp Custer was that the Battle Creek representative of the Department of Justice was all alone; that under those circumstances, with thirty thousand men under arms, he could not possibly cope with the situation; and that by reason of the lack of power of the Army Intelligence Division, to which my informant was attached, it was impossible to keep away from the camp great numbers of suspects who continually visited there under every kind of pretext.

"With respect to the statement concerning spies who were freed after arrest, I may say that I did not intend to impute any improper motives to any one connected with the Department of Justice; and since I have received further information with regard to such cases, I am satisfied that there is now no such case of which I have knowledge where a person should be returned to custody.

"There was in my New York address a general criticism of the methods of the Department of Justice. I have always felt that the Department was far too cautious in weighing legal reasons against drastic action toward malefactors. It has been explained to me by Department of Justice officials several times, both before and since this particular speech, that the Department has always had to consider serious complications that might follow undue haste or action without complete legal warrant, even when evidence in hand might be considered by the newspapers, or by the general public, to amply warrant arrest. I may have been wrong in my opinion, but my point of view on this subject remains unchanged.

"There is no specific evidence which I could give, in testifying before the grand jury, on which action for a violation of any Federal law could be based; but I have information concerning a number of matters which I feel, if properly followed up, might lead to the development of violations of a Federal statute. I shall place at the disposal of any representative of the Department of Justice at any time all matters and information in my possession having to do with possible violations of Federal statutes or neglect of duty on the part of any Federal officer. I also stand ready at any time to furnish you a full and complete statement of facts with respect to any incident which through oversight was not brought to my attention and is not covered by this letter, if it be of the character herein outlined.

"I desire to point out to you that almost all of the matters above referred to, and toward which criticism has been very properly directed by the Department, relate to speeches made by me since the United States has been at war with Germany, and only in an infinitesimal degree refer to the great number of revelations published by the Providence *Journal* during that time.

"As it is the opinion of officials of the Department of Justice, expressed to me within the past few days, that public addresses made by myself at the present time with regard to the war situation may serve to keep alive the mistaken impression that the Providence *Journal* has sought to take to itself some share of the credit that properly belongs to the Department of Justice, and that such an impression might be created even though no specific reference should be made to the *Journal's* work, I have decided to accept no more such invitations for the time being. As a matter of fact, several hundred of these invitations have been declined during the past two months, following a policy decided on by the president of the Providence Journal Company and myself some time ago."

(*Signed*) JOHN R. RATHOM

On the Earth and Under It

By GENEVIEVE TAGGARD

For a Tired Girl

Put her away some place between two hills,
Away from the sea and the sun.
She has so much to think of, must she run
On your bright bosom always, Mother Earth?
Put her away, and let some other birth
Bring her back to the sound of the sea, and the sun.
After she ponders under silent hills,
Beneath your swarming bosom, Mother Earth,
She will have words for her beloved one.

Thirst

There is a bird that hangs head-down and cries
Between the mango leaves and passion vines.
Below, the spotted serpent twines
And blunts its head against the yellowing skies.
Along the warping ground a turtle scrapes,
And tortured lie glazed fishes in marsh grass.
Across the sky that burnishes like brass
A bat veers, stupid with the yeast of grapes.

Dead Man

Sap stirs near me, roots stretch and seize
Sundering stones.
And rivers waken, start in monotones
Their later tunes.
Oaks bend their knotted knees
In labor, and the full earth groans
Like women big with their increase;
While underground my body lies,
With open eyes,
In this stiff pose of peace.

Contributors to This Issue

EUGENE S. BAGGER is a New York journalist who has made a special study of Central European affairs.

HIRAM K. MODERWELL is an American journalist traveling in Europe.

GEORGE SOULE is a writer on industrial questions for *The Nation*.

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The Building Scandal

By GEORGE SOULE

AT last we are getting at a few of the facts behind the housing shortage. The inquiry now being conducted in New York by Samuel Untermyer and the Lockwood Committee is beginning to show that there were some decidedly human elements in the high price of building materials. What seems about to be proved is that dealers in materials, building contractors, dispensers of credit, and bosses of labor were in a conspiracy to keep prices high and restrict production.

The manifold aspects of the collusion have not all been made plain as yet, and to recite them in detail would require many pages. While the people of the city were being bled white, and overcrowded until they were so exasperated that a reactionary legislature passed some of the most radical rent laws that ever came into existence, plumbing rings, stone rings, rings in almost all of the thirty-two building trades, were keeping their bids up artificially by s nding them through central clearing houses, whose task was to see that no bid was too low and to distribute the work according to prearranged schedules. Any contractor who refused to work with these rings was disciplined on the one hand by national groups who controlled materials, and on the other by the withdrawal of his labor. On the side, crooked labor bosses extracted huge bribes as a price for their complicity. They were protected by the contractors in spite of these extortions, because they could expose the evil doings of the contractors, and it was necessary for the preservation of the rings to maintain dishonest autocrats in control of the unions. The few witnesses already examined have testified that they alone were forced to give in the neighborhood of $50,000 to Robert P. Brindell or his agents—Brindell being president of the local central body of building unions known as the Building Trades Council. This sum is merely a trifle compared to the probable total of his extortions from contractors. And from labor itself he profiteered also. His income from one small union is shown to have been $40,000 a year. Brindell is by no means solely responsible for the situation, but he happens to have been one of the first points of attack. He has had worthy predecessors, such as "Sam" Parks of New York, and "Skinny" Madden of Chicago. Since his type seems to be one which often finds root in the building trades, and since its prevalence has a bearing on the whole union movement, we may confine the present article to accounting for Brindell. In this connection, it is well to understand the political background. Brindell belongs to the "conservative" wing of the trade-union movement which opposes the Socialists and the Farmer-Labor Party. One prominent member of his executive committee is Alderman Keneally, a strong Tammany man. Just before the storm broke, the Building Trades Council had endorsed the candidacy for judgeship of District Attorney Swann, a Democratic nominee. In the labor movement, Brindell worked hand in hand with Peter J. Brady, a union official, who was given a $6,000 job by the Hylan administration, and with James Holland, a Democrat, and president of the New York State Federation of Labor. Governor Smith recently appointed Brindell to a hospital commission, on the recommendation of Holland. The support of the Building Trades Council in the next election was offered to Mayor Hylan if he would award the contract for a new court house to a certain bidder. This series of facts illustrates the close connection of Brindell with machine politics.

Two years ago the Central Federated Union, which was the delegate central body of all the New York local unions, got out of the control of the Brindell-Brady-Holland combination. It founded a Labor Party, passed resolutions in favor of trade with Soviet Russia, and otherwise became active in a way displeasing to the old machine. In particular, its political wing proposed that housing be made a public utility, and that the profit system in building be superseded by a building guild. So uncomfortable was its proximity that the Tammany union officials, making use of the prestige of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council, and especially of Samuel Gompers himself, began a movement for its "reorganization." The plan was to oust the "radicals" and to install the "conservatives" in power, under the sacred aegis of "Americanism." Tammany wanted to kill the Labor Party, and the Brindell-Holland-Brady group wanted to scotch its embarrassing rival. For reasons too complex to relate here, the plan did not succeed and the "radicals" are now in control of the reorganized body.

The Central Federated Union, however, was not absolutely necessary to Brindell, since it has no industrial power. It is merely a consultative body which can pass resolutions; its funds are small and it does not call strikes or make collective agreements. What Brindell had to control was the central body of the building trades unions themselves. This used to be known as the Board of Business Agents—the business agents being the paid union officials who conduct negotiations with employers. Where, as in the building trades, there exist a number of craft unions who work for the same employers and on the same jobs, there has to be some central body to facilitate cooperation among them. The employers, on their side, have associations to regularize their practice in dealing with labor. The most natural thing in the world is for collective bargaining to arise between the central body of the building unions and the central association of employers. Such relations are, if honestly conducted, highly beneficial to all concerned, because they tend to standardize labor policy and to substitute constitutional government in industry for the constant guerrilla warfare of small craft strikes. The Untermyer inquiry, however, has proved the baneful possibilities of this arrangement under the wrong kind of control.

How did Brindell get his control? In the first place, he established a reputation by winning large concessions for the union of which he was an official—the Dock Builders. He seemed to have plenty of money to spend, and created a personal following. The Dock Builders affiliated with the Carpenters, who are numerically the largest factor in the building trades. Depending on this support, he constructed his machine among the old-line officials. Then he strengthened the prestige of the old Board of Business Agents by changing it into a Building Trades Council—a regularized body with a charter from the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. But he did not abide by the provisions of that charter. He had himself elected president of the Council for life. He decreed that members of the rank and file of the constituent unions could not be delegates to the Council, but that all delegates must be business agents. He decreed that these business agents

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must be elected for a term of three years, and must be paid seventy-five dollars weekly. He decreed that there should be only one copy of the minutes of the Council, that one being in the possession of the secretary—thus preventing the rank and file from knowing what the Council did. By these few strokes he removed the Council from the supervision of the constituent locals, and established his supremacy over the delegates, who had him to thank for a secure tenure at a good salary. In all these matters he violated the laws of the national Building Trades Department, and of the various constituent unions. Here is the first point at which organized labor itself is to blame. For his violations brought forth no effective protests from any of the higher officials—the "conservatives"—of the unions. They were not sufficiently alive to the danger of departure from democratic principles, or sufficiently vigorous in their guardianship of good administration. As for the local rank and file, the trading attitude of the old or conservative unions made them value above democracy the concessions they thought Brindell could gain for them.

One local group, however, did protest. The Painters, many of whom are Socialists or Farmer-Laborites, refused to elect their delegates for more than a year, or to fix their salaries at Brindell's dictation. Rather than surrender, they suffered expulsion from the Council. Fortunately for themselves, the majority of painters work for independent contractors who are not members of the employers' associations. Those master painters who are subject to the Building Trades Employers' Association, however, were soon used to discipline the refractory "radicals." When the painters struck last September, the few organized employers would not deal with them, although virtually all the independent contractors granted the new demands within a few days. The obdurate employers advertised that they were fighting the painters in behalf of "the public." They said the painters were "ultra radical" and were "un-American," but that if the public would have a little patience, a new painters' union would be formed to include the "American element." Sure enough, in a few weeks Brindell chartered a painters' union of his own. He had no right to do this under the laws of the American Federation of Labor. His new union had no members to speak of. But he was using his alliance with the employers to bring the regular Painters' Union under autocratic control. "Americanism" was simply euphemistic for autocracy and graft.

A similar experience of the House Wreckers' Union has been fully explained in the hearings. In the case of the dissenting building laborers, Brindell actually succeeded in forming a large union in competition with the established organization, and virtually wiped out its New York membership, on account of the apathy of its national officials. The Bricklayers did not join the Council, but apparently they were too strong for Brindell to defeat until he had isolated them. The Ironworkers joined the Council on account of their special situation. Unlike most of the other trades, they had not been able to eliminate open-shop conditions from New York. Contractors told them they would be glad to recognize the union, but that the Steel Trust threatened to withhold their materials if they did so. Brindell promised the Ironworkers that if they would join, he would not allow work to proceed on any building on which they were not recognized. This promise induced them to accept his conditions of affiliation. For awhile he kept his promise on some buildings, but not on others. The reason for the lapses appeared at the very beginning of the Untermyer hearings, when a builder testified that he had paid a large bribe for the resumption of work on a building where a strike had been occasioned by the employment of non-union ironworkers. To Brindell, the adherence of the Ironworkers apparently meant not a chance to help them, but a chance to collect money. At any rate, after awhile all help ceased and it was rumored among the ironworkers that the Erectors' Association had "reached" Brindell. Now the ironworkers, as well as many of the other crafts are ready to join the painters and the bricklayers in revolt.

It is significant that the element in labor which aspires to the elimination of private profit in industry is the same element which struggles against autocracy and corruption under the present system. The "radicals," the "un-Americans"—these are the ones who have fought against Brindell and his allies in politics, the ones who have proposed a building guild for the production of houses without profit. They are also the ones who have striven to preserve democracy and open diplomacy in the trade-union movement. They are the ones who have done their best to break Brindell's unholy alliance with the contractors' rings. It is clear that the interests of the public and of the radicals are identical in the building trades at least. It is clear that the chief impetus toward honesty and cleanliness in the trade-union movement has in this case come not from Gompers and the "old crowd," but from the insurgents.

Clearly, the first necessity, quite apart from the punishment of those found guilty under the law, is the reorganization of the building unions' central body on democratic lines, with the leadership of the union officials who under considerable difficulties have proved themselves honest. There is no reason why the Council itself should not be democratically composed, and why the rank and file should not know what the Council is doing. Delegates to it should be working members of the rank and file, and should be elected for short terms. Its minutes should be regularly distributed to the constituent unions, as is the established union practice elsewhere. A body of this sort might be both as efficient and as honest as, for instance, the New York Joint Board of the men's clothing workers, where graft is unknown.

Without control of the building unions, the contractors' rings could not easily operate. The keystone of their arch would have been removed. Yet the foundation—private profit and private control—would remain. Until this is destroyed there is danger of a new keystone, and, in any case, the building industry will not serve the public as it should. The building unions should go on from an honest beginning to demand, in common with the public, that the building of homes for the people be made a public utility under public control. State credit, at low rates, should be extended for this purpose, and a non-political commission, composed of representatives of tenants, unions, and professional men, should be created to administer the credit. Power should be granted to commandeer materials, and if necessary, to manufacture them. The work should be done by a building guild, composed of practical builders—unions, architects, and engineers—operating on a non-profit basis. This plan is the one actually recommended by the local Farmer-Labor Party, long before Mr. Untermyer began to uncover the unsavory details of the existing system. And the Farmer-Labor Party is largely composed of the "radicals" who were engaged in fighting Brindellism within the unions.

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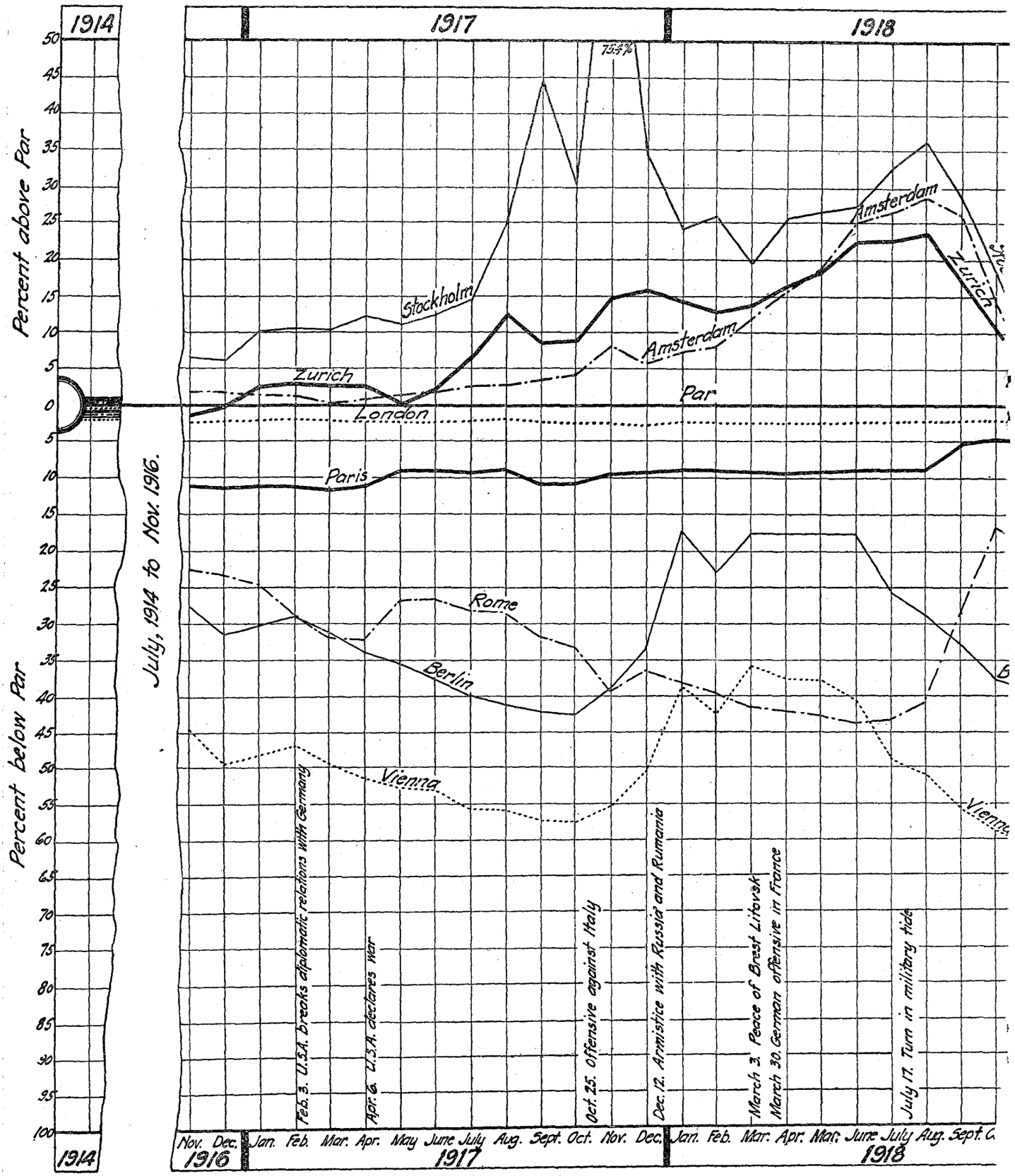
THE COURSE OF EUROPEAN EXCHANG



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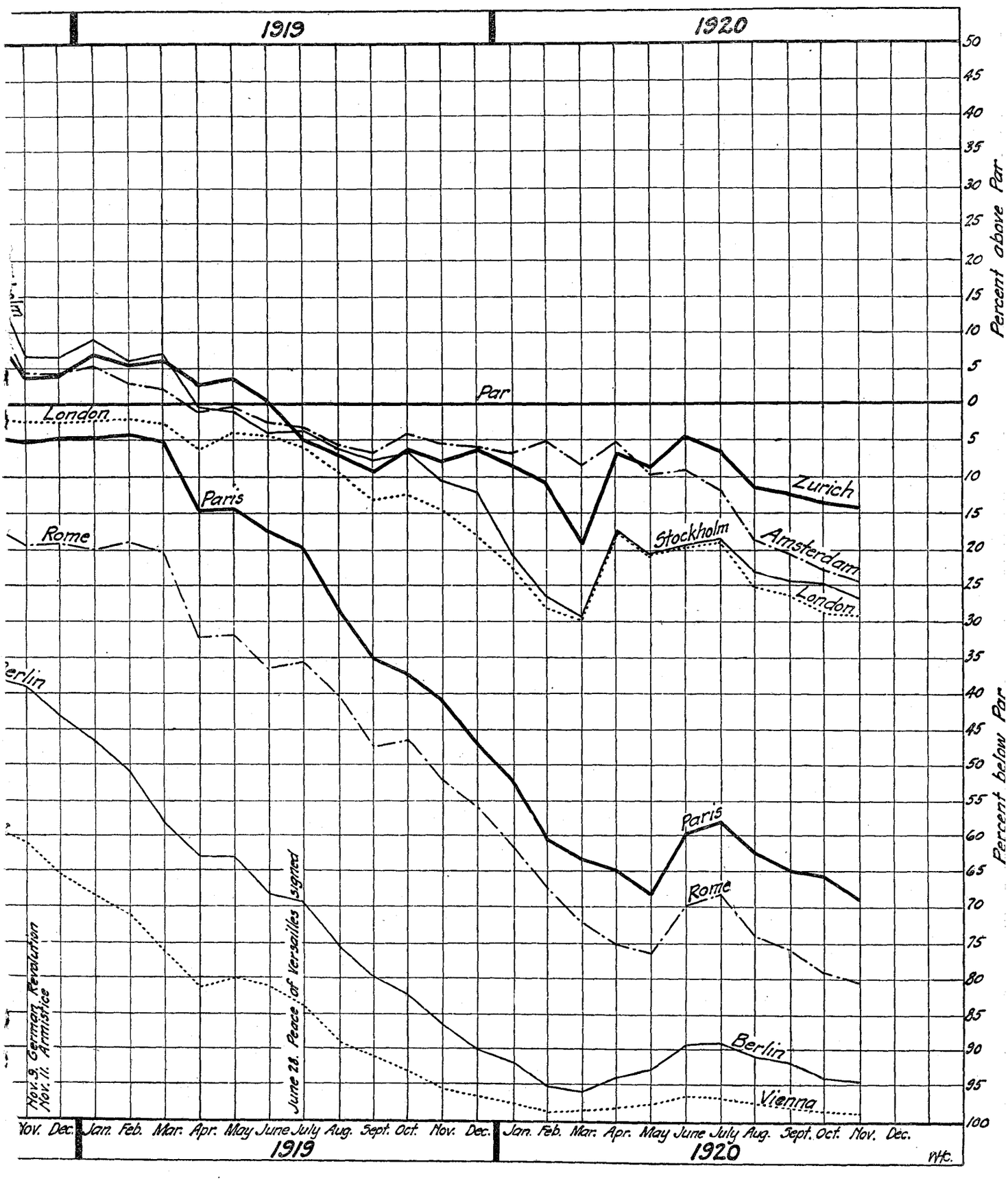
: IN RELATION TO THE AMERICAN DOLLAR



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In the Driftway

PARIS has lit another seven thousand street lamps. She is not yet back to her pre-war scale of night light, for coal is scarce and gas costs coal, but the seven thousand lights must spell final death to a Paris which for all its tragedy had something of romance and a dark beauty which peace-time Paris will never repeat. The Drifter will not soon forget the ghostly aspect of Notre Dame from the cobbles by the riverside, on the black nights of the air-raid spring of 1918, when the towers loomed into the night with a solemn dignity and gray equanimity which the flaming gas jets of post-armistice days spoiled. And the vast spaces of the Place de la Concorde lying dark and unlamped, bare to the stars, were very different from the flashing square of peace time. There was a sense of mystery and yet of comradeship in the black streets those nights when heavy curtains barred even cracks of light at the windows, when the midnight wanderer stubbed his toe incessantly against invisible *poubelles*, and the sound of every passer's feet echoed loud in the hollow silence. There is nothing which so isolates the individual as a crowd; in those empty streets one had the same sense of companionship with other belated pedestrians as unites travelers who meet in a wilderness.

* * * * *

THE Drifter has just returned from a little journey through the Dark Ages. In the Dark Ages fashionable young ladies wore skirts which touched the ground when they stood erect on two feet, and though the Drifter does not set himself up as one well versed in feminine fashions, he knows that no present-day skirt could do that. In the Dark Ages landlords filled columns of the newspapers with plaintive requests for some kind tenant to occupy their seven-room flat for twenty dollars a month, or their three-room apartment for seventeen. And the Drifter regards the three rooms which he knows most intimately, and thoughtfully multiplies seventeen by several. On the front page of the Dark Age newspaper, large black headlines announced that the King of Greece had been assassinated, and in parallel columns the news of the latest Turkish victory over the Bulgarians was reported. Apparently there were wars in those days, too. But the Drifter has been found out: he had not been to very dark ages at all; he had merely been reading the New York *World* for March 19, 1913.

* * * * *

THE ways of prison officials are always incomprehensible to a mere free man, such as the Drifter counts himself, but it is clear to him that the officials of Dannemora prison agree with the British Government. He is told that Ben Gitlow is permitted to receive *The Nation* within prison walls, but that Jim Larkin is forbidden that privilege. Obviously the moguls of Dannemora, too, fear an Irish Nation more than a Jewish.

* * * * *

IN Seattle the integrity of Ole Hanson's law and order is preserved with all the dignity which blue-coated angels of the law can muster. Pausing by the totem pole in Pioneer Square the Drifter recently heard an American Indian say pointed things about the profit system and Mr. Palmer's habits. The Indian was interrupted by a policeman, who pushed his way through the listening crowd and said: "If ye don't loike this counthry, why don't yez go back where ye come from?"

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

A Criticism of *The Nation*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the past it has been one of the glories of *The Nation* that on the whole it has stood for fair play. To maintain this attitude was easier, I suppose, for the old *Nation*, with its comparatively disinterested critical spirit, than for the new *Nation*, with its spirit of crusading radicalism. I am one of those who regret the passing of that former *Nation*, though I recognize the usefulness of the new journal. A skeptical critic may not attract so wide an audience as a reforming evangelist, but I suspect that he sees a wider arc of truth. Nevertheless, I believe that *The Nation* still intends to play fair, and that it has done important public service in urging fair play for Russia and Ireland and Haiti and other more or less distant regions.

But there has been one painful exception. Against President Wilson, whom *The Nation* warmly supported in the early days of the war, it has turned with a peculiar and venomous bitterness, as against a lost leader. Much of your criticism of the President has, it is true, been justified. He has been forced into many inconsistencies; he has been guilty of grave errors of tact and judgment; he has kept in high office men who ought to have been removed. It is possible that at Paris he may have been overreached and outwitted, though this remains to be tested by time. Such criticisms may be brought against him without unfairness; but I submit that to accuse him, as *The Nation* has constantly done, of "insincerity," of "hypocrisy," of "the betrayal of American ideals," is totally and shamefully unfair. The fact is, of course, that the President created no inconsiderable part of the idealism which you accuse him of betraying. His war speeches and messages expressed a lofty aspiration, and set forth a magnificent ideal program. In attempting to carry out that program he faced a condition, not a theory, and he accepted a solution with many compromises, one which fell far short of his ideal. True; but is it fair to accuse him of hypocrisy, of betraying the ideal, on that account? Is a man's reach not to exceed his grasp? Is he to cherish no ideal which cannot be immediately attained, or is he to refuse to take any practicable step forward because that step falls short of his ultimate goal? *The Nation* in its missionary ardor seems to have lost sight of the truth that, as Lord Morley once wrote, "politics are a field where action is one long second-best, and where the choice constantly lies between two blunders."

The Declaration of Independence expressed certain lofty ideals. The Constitution of the United States offered a most imperfect instrument, full of compromises, for approximating those ideals. Is there any inconsistency between Wilson's ideal program and the League Covenant more glaring than the inconsistency between the Declaration's "All men are created equal" with "liberty" among their "unalienable rights" and the Constitution's tacit recognition of slavery? If our revolutionary fathers had taken the attitude toward the Constitution which *The Nation* has taken toward the Covenant, there would have been no United States of America.

But this is not all. The most painful evidence of *The Nation's* unfairness toward the President is its sneering attitude toward "Wilson's war." Thus in a recent issue you refer to "Wilsonism with its needlessly putting us into the war which has neither ended war nor safeguarded democracy." Such an utterance as this fills me, as an old friend and admirer of *The Nation*, with indignation and shame; for it seems to me stupid, cowardly, and false. It is stupid and false to say that our en-

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trance into the war was needless, or that a war which crushed imperialistic Germany and thwarted her designs of conquest did not safeguard democracy. It is false and cowardly to insinuate that Mr. Wilson, for some dark purpose of his own, "put us into" the war. Even the President's political opponents, even such unscrupulous partisans as Henry Cabot Lodge, have not descended to this level. They are too intelligent; they know that such insinuations would react upon their own heads.

HOMER E. WOODBRIDGE

Middletown, Conn., November 2, 1920

Atlanta University

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The Ku-Klux Klan has been revived. Its foolish mummery does not so much terrify the Negroes as it arouses bitter resentment, hatred, and the determination, if need be, to sell life dearly.

American democracy fails most pitifully in our treatment of the Negro. Better laws are needed, no doubt. But beyond and deeper is the need for the uprooting of hatreds and misunderstandings that grow their ugly weeds between the races, and the need for watering and tending the tap root of personal worth and mutual regard in the youth of both races.

Atlanta University is trying to do just this thing for the Negroes. Primarily a place for the training of teachers, it has insisted upon giving a broad and general education that shall develop men and women with insight and a will to take the responsibilities of leadership. We must overcome prejudice by worth. Retaliation will not work. Let the race that is responsible for the Ku-Klux Klan brand it and shame it out of existence.

For the past fifty years the graduates of Atlanta University have shown marked ability as teachers and have filled other positions of responsibility acceptably. One of them, James Weldon Johnson, has recently stirred the whole nation by his account of affairs in Haiti. The graduates are giving generously for the support of Atlanta University. This year their gifts and those of other donors must be supplemented by additional private subscriptions to keep our work vigorous. We are also seeking $10,000 to secure a like sum offered by the General Education Board, in addition to substantial aid, already subscribed by them, for repairs and improvements of the plant. Will not the readers of *The Nation* help us to keep aflame the beacon of democracy in the hope of peace and good will?

EDWARD T. WARE

President of Atlanta University

Montclair, N. J., November 2

What Germany Thinks

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: What do the Germans think, feel, and say? What do they think, feel, and say about the War, about the Versailles Peace, about the possibility or probability of another war, about revenge, about the Kaiser, about America? I have not interrogated every German, but contact with many of them has given me some idea of Germany's attitude toward the vital questions of the day. The first man to whom I spoke was our car conductor. "Of course, there is going to be war," he said. "In less than five years. It is better to die than to live under such a yoke!" The man who made up our beds in the sleeping car said: "Yes, we are going to have a war; and it is going to be Germany, England, and Russia against France." A number of people of the "lower" classes were sure that another war was imminent and seemed to be eager for it. "France is too brutal, too insulting, and no red-blooded man could stand it for any length of time."

But the business and professional people to whom I spoke, one and all, pooh-poohed the idea of a war, either in the near or distant future. Another war would be Germany's *coup de grace*, her death blow. While resenting France's wanton brutality and her gratuitous insults as much as the Junkers, they felt that Germany was through with war forever; that her salvation consisted in work, in long, steady, persistent work. The idea of revenge is as far from their minds as the idea of restoring the Kaiser. While fully aware that Germany was not the only country that was responsible for the war, they know that a good share of the responsibility was hers; they know that German militarism was an obnoxious plant, and they say that to have uprooted it is worth almost all the misery they have endured. "If we had conquered," they say, "things would have been pretty bad. We might have had more to eat, but we would have been crushed by the heel of militarism."

While the people are not enthusiastic about the Ebert regime, they know it is doing about as well as any other government could in the circumstances. They are afraid of revolutions, strikes, and wars, and very much afraid of Bolshevism. And I do not believe there is the slightest danger of Bolshevism gaining ground in Germany. I say this regardless of what our radicals, in whom the wish is often father to the thought, may say to the contrary. And what is more, the Russians themselves do not wish Bolshevism to spread in Germany. What the Bolsheviki want is manufactured articles. And they can get manufactured articles most conveniently, surely, and cheaply from Germany. If Bolshevism should invade Germany and German industry be, even temporarily, disorganized thereby, there would be no manufactured articles for Soviet Russia. That there is great dissatisfaction among German workers is true. I should like to see anybody, whose insides are gnawed by hunger, contented and satisfied. But that the German workers want a revolution because they are hungry, I deny. First, they know that a revolution does not necessarily mean more food; they hear how terrible the suffering is in Russia; and second, to make a revolution you have to possess a certain amount of energy and buoyancy; and they know that they are too depressed, dejected, and listless to succeed in one. What they might do under the guidance of a great leader, I don't know. But great leaders have always been scarce, and since 1914 they have been scarcer than ever.

I have noticed no hatred in Germany against America, England, Belgium, Italy, or any of the other belligerent countries—with the exception of two. They do hate France and they do despise Poland. They hate France for its insults, its employment of colored troops in the occupied area, and its enormous bills for the upkeep of the occupation army. (By the way, the Germans claim that the bill for the upkeep of the Allied occupation army is sixty per cent higher than the cost of their entire army before the war! I wonder if it is true; if it is, it is an outrage and a crime.) As to Poland, they do not hate the country itself, they just despise the Polish aristocracy and leaders. They do not believe that Poland will remain an independent state for long, and that, not on account of external attacks, but by reason of internal dissensions. The Polish nobility, they say, has always been the vilest in Europe; they are the lowest drunkards, gamblers, and debauchees; they will gamble their wives and children away; and they are both cruel and autocratic. How can such people remain at the helm of a modern state? Let France and America, they say, take away their financial and military aid from Poland, and the country will fall to pieces. Perhaps so and perhaps not. This was told me by a cultivated business man, who claimed to be a true cosmopolitan, one who had no antagonism against the Polish people, but who claimed to know the Polish aristocracy. "No other country in Europe possesses such medieval types," he said. And in the meantime, the poor Poles and the poor Russians are killing each other by the thousands, because certain diplomats are indifferent to bloodshed and prefer death and destruction to peace and prosperity.

New York, October 18 WILLIAM J. ROBINSON, M.D.

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Books

Masters in Search of a Masterpiece

Mitch Miller. By Edgar Lee Masters. The Macmillan Company.

Domesday Book. By Edgar Lee Masters. The Macmillan Company.

WHEN the "Spoon River Anthology" arrived, now nearly six years ago, it was at once everywhere acclaimed as the first book of a new author. Research in time discovered that Mr. Masters was already forty-six and that he had been an author ever since the year of the War with Spain, experimenting with verse in various measures, and of course with disquisition and the drama, to the extent of half a dozen volumes. Since 1915 he has now published half a dozen more, which have all inherited the fame of the "Anthology" but which betray, hardly less than the unconsidered ventures of his nonage, the restless and nervous habit of experimentation which makes up a large share of his poetical character. There comes to mind the figure of a blindfolded Apollo, eager and lusty, who continually runs forward on the trail of poetry but who, because of his blindfoldedness, only now and then strikes the central track. During the "Spoon River" episode he held the track long enough to produce a masterpiece, and since then he has occasionally, in crossing it, struck out certain bright, memorable flashes; but the blindfold continues to impede him.

Mr. Masters's two latest volumes wear the colors of experimentation. In "Mitch Miller" he has attempted to write a new "Tom Sawyer" for the Spoon River district; in "Domesday Book" he has applied the method of "The Ring and the Book" to the material of Starved Rock. The impulse back of the first must have been much the same as Mark Twain's: a desire to catch in a stouter net than memory itself the recollections of boyhood which haunt disillusioned men. But in proportion as Mr. Masters is less boylike than Mark Twain—an immense proportion—"Mitch Miller" is less purely and singly a book for or about boys than "Tom Sawyer." Elegy and argument intrude. Mitch and Skeet, the Tom and Huck of this story, live so much of their lives in imitation of their prototypes that Mitch can call "Tom Sawyer" the "Bible of grown folks." These boys in their adventures parallel altogether too singularly the careers of Tom and Huck; their too mythical excursion to Hannibal in search of their juvenile divinity is a mere apologue of disillusionment. Mitch's pre-adolescent passion for Zueline sounds like an argument on the side of Freud, and almost as much like an obsession as the frenzy of Doc Lyon, who brings into the story its tincture of horrible disease. There are implications, too, of a fierce hatred for the politics and theology of Spoon River. Can a story of boyhood, that slim, spare, muscular age, carry such a burden of doctrine? At least this story does not carry it without penalties. The narrative is tangled in a snarl of moods. Its movement is often thick, its wings gummed and heavy. Only in flashes does the powerful imagination of Mr. Masters shake itself free and burn with the high, hot light which so often glows in the "Anthology." The great shadow of Lincoln lies over the book as it lies over all the books of all Illinois authors; there are touches of admirable comedy and strong strokes of character and some racy prose; but as a whole "Mitch Miller" falls regrettably between the clear energy which might have made it popular and the profound significance which might have made it great.

The scheme and the machinery of "Domesday Book" are admirable. Elenor Murray is found dead on the shore of the Illinois River a mile above Starved Rock. Coroner Merival, a sort of philosophical amateur in office, undertakes to trace the mystery not only to its immediate cause but up to its primary source and out to its remotest consequences. He summons as his jury his chosen friends and brings before them, in person or by deposition or letter, all the acquaintances of Elenor Murray until he has pieced out her tragic story, from the moment she was conceived to the hour she died, and has placed it in its larger setting. To Mr. Masters, at times, the tale of Elenor Murray seems an allegory of America during the troubled, roiled, destroying years of the war, although he does not keep the allegory steadily enough in mind to do more than hint at it. Rather, he intends his book to be a "census spiritual" of American society. Elenor Murray, as he sees her birth and loves and sufferings and desperate end, is pure nature, "essential genius," acting out its fated processes in a world of futile or corrupting inhibitions. But Mr. Masters has less skill at portraying the pure genius of Elenor Murray than at arraigning the inhibitions of her society. When he steps down from his watch-tower of irony he can hate as no American poet does, and in this book he has piled up his loathings for the muddy days which the war has left behind. His hates, alas, do not always pass into poetry; they too frequently remain hard, sullen masses of animosity not fused with his narrative but standing out from it and adding a fierce personal rhythm to the rough beat of his blank verse. So, too, do his masses of turgid learning and his scientific speculations often remain undigested. A good many of his characters are cut to fit the narrative plan, not chosen from reality to make up the narrative. The total effect is often crude and heavy, now pretentious, now hopelessly flat; and yet beneath these uncompleted surfaces are the sinews of enormous power, a greedy gusto for life, a wide imaginative experience, tumultuous uprushes of emotion and expression, a restless if undisciplined intelligence, an abundance of the veritable stuff of existence—all this, and yet not an authentic masterpiece. "Spoon River Anthology" still has no rival from the hand of its creator. C. V. D.

Soviet Russia

Barbarous Soviet Russia. By Isaac McBride. Thomas Seltzer.

THE sagacious Dr. Arbuthnot somewhere offers prudent counsel on the refutation of lies. If a baseless report is being circulated that some eminent person is dying, it should not be countered with an assertion that the person was not even sick, but with an explanation that in fact the critical point of the illness had been passed and the patient was well on his way to recovery. The friends of Soviet Russia should take this lesson to heart. The misrepresentations and calumnies of interested propaganda are not effaced by a thoughtless application of whitewash. Concealment, exaggeration, distortion, whether used on one side or the other, may be trusted to defeat their own ends. In order to gain sympathy for the present regime, it is not necessary to sanctify its leaders or to represent its governmental program as millennial. Russia's cause will gain much more from a presentation which gives evidence of intelligence and discrimination than from one in which goodwill is the chief ingredient. In the past year one special correspondent after another has bewildered the public with a version of Russian affairs irreconcilably at odds with that supplied by the regular press and diplomatic agencies. Clearly, there is an important set of facts to be opposed to the daily stories of starvation and disintegration issuing from the newspapers; on the other hand, it is impossible, in view of this smoke of stories, to visualize as truth the unclouded landscape of the apologists. One side makes everything of the faults in execution, the other views only the ideal aim and seldom brings critical sense to test it. What we have not yet seen is a book which combines a frank confrontation of the point of view of the Soviets with a clear-eyed estimate of its principles and a fair description of the successes or failures resulting in the operation.

Mr. Isaac McBride has failed to write such a book, but he has at least shown that the materials for it are not lacking. "Barbarous Soviet Russia" consists of two parts. In the first Mr. McBride shows us what a good time he had as a correspondent in that most hospitable of lands, talking with its celebrities and being shown the interesting mechanism of its

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government. While he reveals nothing new about personalities and attempts no criticism of institutions, his account of his own experiences is animated and readable. The impression that he intends to leave with his readers is that affairs are organized in the best possible fashion and the machine is functioning with a maximum efficiency. But there is a second part to Mr. McBride's book, made up of documents, from which a somewhat different tale may be constructed. The problems and difficulties with which the government is struggling are patent in the Code of Labor Laws, the resolutions of the Congress of Trade Unions, and in the reports of the financial and industrial officials. Better than from anything in Mr. McBride's story one can discover in these documents light on some of the questions which most insistently occur concerning the workings of the communist plan.

An examination of the Code of Labor Laws shows it to be inspired by a wholesome interest in the well-being of the workman as a person, by the idea that the industry exists for the workman at least as much as the workman for the industry; but some of the regulations raise doubts of the efficiency of the system. The provision for compulsory labor is indeed not as bad as it is represented by the enemies of the system. The penalty for refusal to work is only the loss of "right to employment" and the unemployment subsidy. A more serious failure of communist theory is suggested by the measures deemed necessary to insure production. The code itself provides for a grading of wages according to the kind of labor, the danger, the complexity, the responsibility, and the standard of education and experience required. But not content with this, the Trades-Union Congress took a leaf straight out of the capitalist economics in a resolution for encouraging production, incidentally running directly counter to the principles of American unionism. "Wage scale regulations must be based on the system of compensation of labor power which would serve as an incentive for the laborers to outdo each other in their desire to raise the productivity of labor in the nationalized enterprises, i. e., the piece-work and premium system founded on a rock-bottom standard of production, with a firmly fixed schedule of either increased pay or decreased hours of work in compensation for production above the standard requirements." One can imagine that a great discrepancy of income would result between the highest employee in the best paid industry and the lowest in the most poorly paid. But the Commissariat of Finance here comes to the rescue with a proposal which "compels the citizen to yield that part of his savings which is above a certain standard."

There is much matter for discussion in the functioning of the trade unions and their relation to the government. It needs to be understood at the outset that these unions, organized nationally in the same manner as the Soviet of Deputies, are laying claim to supreme political power. They are the active civilian army of the Communist Party, a Pretorian army imposing its will upon tributary commanders. They boldly profess their aim to prepare the laboring masses "for the task of managing not only production but the entire apparatus of government," and they categorically demand that the Commissariat of Labor be subordinated to them and "be required to embody in its legislation the fundamental decisions of the Congress of Professional Unions and that all special obligatory regulations be submitted to the unions for approval." In view of the strategic position which they arrogate or enjoy, their tactics assume considerable importance, especially in relation to the charge of a minority dictatorship. While ostensibly aiming to organize all strata of workers, they stipulate as a condition "complete submission to proletarian discipline." No individual union is admitted into the All-Russian and local associations unless it recognizes "the revolutionary class-struggle for realization of socialism by means of the *dictatorship of the proletariat.*" No union may be represented at the Trades-Union Congresses unless in its activity it is "guided by the principles of the international class struggle of the proletariat." It might be presumed that the unions would be hospitable and not stop to scrutinize converts too minutely; the only question that would occur is, how ready have all strata of workers shown themselves to join forces with the new power? It is something of a shock to find a clause of exclusion like this: "It would be the greatest error at the present stage of development of our trade union movement, with its insufficient degree of organization, to infuse into it the craftsmen and small shop-owners who, due to their isolation and unorganized state, do not allow of proletarian control; the same applies to the labor 'Artels,' 'unions of labor communes,' and so-called professional people who are not wage workers. Being the representatives of the dying crafts and petty bourgeois industry, these elements, permeated with the conservative economic ideology of individual and small-scale production (artel) *due to their numerical size* [reviewer's italics], are liable to disorganize the ranks of the economically organized proletariat." When it is noted that the All-Russian Congress which passed this resolution represented 3,422,000 workmen, it will have to be granted that those who complain of a dictatorship by the minority are not complaining without reason.

Mr. McBride's account raises no misgivings about the processes of production, but when one turns to the reports of the responsible officials one meets not only expressions of justifiable pride in progress achieved, but figures which show how heavy is the burden under which industry is fainting and how painfully short production still remains. "Our large industry," writes Mr. Vindelbot with inimitable frankness, "has been getting into even greater difficulties. A number of crises weighing on it are breaking down its last forces. Of these the most acute and serious are the fuel and food crises, the latter demoralizing labor." When friendly reporters learn to face facts with the same intelligence and to declare them with the same honesty as is here shown by a Soviet official, they will serve Russia's turn more effectively than by their present method of blinking partisanship.

JACOB ZEITLIN

Exposure

The Romantic. By May Sinclair. The Macmillan Company.
Tension. By E. M. Delafield. The Macmillan Company.

THERE is a faintly bitter savor that means freshness and health; there is a harshness that is tonic as the sting of an autumnal wind; there is a brevity of expression that has nothing in it of poverty but is like the agile grace of an athlete's body. That savor, that harshness, and that grace belong to the new books of Miss Sinclair and Miss Delafield. Both have put on the "purged, considerate minds" of Arnold's admonition and survey the human scene with a vision no less sympathetic for its clear directness. Their consciousness has lost the last tinge of the notion that they are shocking anyone. Not theirs to dumfound the Philistine; they speak in a bright and serene world beyond his, and, taking a fundamental inner liberation for granted, address themselves to the small company of equal minds. Neither has produced a piece of great literature; both are at once factor and symptom in a cultural process of incalculable importance.

Miss Sinclair is serious and quiet. She is still under the influence of Miss Dorothy Richardson's impressionistic method and refuses to have any dealings with conjunctions. But her substance is entirely her own. Her Charlotte Redhead is new and authentic both as a type and as an individual. The girl's instinctive view of basic human relations is one that merges into the virile. For purity she substitutes honor, for sentiment veracity, and for jealousy justice. It is Gibson, the partner of her first affair, who is the sentimentalist, the deceiver of others and himself, and it is he who, in the end, is guilty of both the sentimentalist's cruelty and his lack of shame. Charlotte is conscious of the weak but genuine pathos of poor Effie in the dim background and of the moral slovenliness of trying to live amid mended shards. Fortified but not thoroughly in-

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structed by this experience, she meets the romantic John Roden Conway. Together, but merely as friends, they join an ambulance unit in Belgium. Here John's image in Charlotte's soul, and with it their relation to each other, begins to crumble. Gibson had sentimentalized about love and had "funked and lied"; Conway had sentimentalized about war. He had been dashing and radiant and gone as a knight on a great adventure. All the banners of his mind had streamed. Now he, too, funks and lies. He abandons the wounded under fire, sends Charlotte on difficult missions alone, and collapses shamefully at every crucial moment. When the danger is past he recaptures his perfectly sincere romanticism of gold and glory; on exposed ridges he slinks out of sight. A bullet in the back ends the poor romantic's career. Charlotte, who has been loyal to him in her own honest fashion, is crushed. But a clever psychoanalyst heals her inner wound with his explanation. It is the inferior mind that is sentimental and romantic. It knows that it cannot meet or endure reality. Its dreams and heroisms, its persistent glorification of itself and others and the world are but the activities of a defense complex which it builds up to live at all and to sustain its own self-respect. The brave and sane man hates war; the romantic glorifies it to save himself from flight. The implications of Miss Sinclair's fable and analysis are of the broadest significance. The hundred bedizenments of life spring from a fear of it; sentiments are cushions between the world and feeble souls; the romantic does not seek to remake that world on the basis of reality as given, but to push its true nature out of consciousness and substitute a softer and more endurable image. He trims the universe to his stature and tricks it out to suit his taste. It is these implications that give Miss Sinclair's book an extraordinary intellectual suppleness and strength.

Miss Delafield is a great deal younger than Miss Sinclair. She is still a little angry over the discrepancy between feigning and fact, sentiment and truth. Thus her studiedly cool and detached manner does not always serve to conceal a remnant of vindictiveness. This, since Miss Delafield is a very able artist indeed, takes the form of a sharp and tireless irony. The chief characters of her fable are subsidiary from the point of view of her theme. That is embodied in the person of Lady Rossiter. And Lady Rossiter is a noteworthy creation. She was large and fair and sweet and, though she would have died rather than have betrayed it, unsatisfactorily married. Thus she went about scattering seeds of kindness, bringing a little radiance into other lives, furiously and fatuously sentimentalizing a world and a situation that did not please her. Beneath that sentimentality she was a malignant snob and, as the story proves with great accuracy, a dangerous gossip. But she was wholly deceived by her own pretenses. "She often said that flowers were literally a necessity to her—an opinion frequently held by those whose financial situation has never compelled them to regard flowers as an alternative to, let us say, butter for breakfast." Miss Delafield is not often so explicit. But that sentence illustrates admirably her chief method in the exposure of Lady Rossiter. A second and subtler method is her description of Lady Rossiter's effect on her husband. Sir Julian had an uncommonly austere and veracious mind, though enough of generous humanity. His wife's false sweetness wore on him through the years but could not harden his sensitiveness to its ugly softness. He fell into a habit of sardonic repartee and cynical exposure to which she was, of course, wholly impervious. In view of her incurable self-deception he came to despise himself for his futile little shafts, but found himself powerless to resist the temptation. The interplay between these two temperaments is one of the most searching things in recent fiction. But, indeed, Miss Delafield, is very rich in creative vigor. The two terrible children of poor Mark are masterly; so are the faded yet insolent teachers at the Commercial College. Nor is Miss Delafield devoid of the kindlier emotions which she shows in her portrait of Miss Marchrose. But the scalpel is her favorite instrument.

Books in Brief

MR. MOORFIELD STOREY'S services to many good causes have won for him that crown which a republic bestows when it calls one of its sons a "good citizen." The moral qualities which have animated his long career as a private servant of the state find unconscious expression in the Godkin Lectures delivered last March at Harvard and now published under the title "Problems of Today" (Houghton Mifflin). Mr. Storey is at his best when he is considering conditions that are not complex, where rightmindedness and neighborly feeling and a willingness to do one's share are enough to remedy human ills. His words on participation in politics, on freedom of speech, on obedience to law, on the treatment of Negroes, and on our relations with foreign nations make clear the way of righteousness to the young men to whom they were addressed. What he says on these subjects is true for any age. When we turn to discussion of the distribution of wealth and the relations between employer and employed we find Mr. Storey less adequate. His simple system of individualistic morals is not the universal solvent that he seeks to make it. His kindliness of spirit is unwittingly frustrated by his horror of any other methods than kindliness of spirit. In making Mr. Gompers the special object of his opprobrium, Mr. Storey betrays how little he comprehends the issues and the alignments in the labor struggle of today. For a moment he seems to be the apostle of a new order when he says that "we must not make the idle comfortable at the expense of the virtuous"; but this soon turns out to be only an apology for what some of us now enjoy, when we find Mr. Storey saying that we must give men the inducement to work to make their children comfortable. Though under this system some will acquire great wealth and leave children who are mere idle wasters, "it is always true that any power may be abused, and anything in itself good may be wasted or misused." The generation that studied its economics in the day of the Bradley-Martin ball will be surprised to meet the old fallacy that "no money can be invested or spent without doing some good" and to be reminded of the "dressmakers, milliners, waiters, and the producers everywhere who supply the dainties which are consumed." The economics of these lectures is of value only as it marks how far we have moved from the unquestioning attitudes of not so long ago, and illustrates in how short a span the eager reformer may become the doctrinaire apologist for the established order.

THE exactness in much of the investigation into natural phenomena and the far-flung imagination of some of the most distinguished investigators have tempted many thinkers in other fields to filch the lingo of physics and biology and use it as a cloak to conceal their inability to pursue the rigorous and controlled methods of genuine science. A fresh instance of failure to resist this temptation appears in the first of three lectures given by John Henry Wigmore on the Barbour-Page Foundation at the University of Virginia and now printed in "Problems of Law" (Scribner). Here Dean Wigmore demonstrates anew the wide range of his intellectual rummaging and the queer quirks of his marvelous mind. After rejecting the helix and various odd circles and lines as analogies to help explain the law's evolution, the lecturer lights on "the analogy of the planetary system, with its numerous local inter-dependent motions." Very vividly he continues: "To illustrate concretely, I hold here, in my left hand, a bicycle wheel, free to rotate on its axis." With his right hand he makes it so rotate, whirling it round and round as well as over and over, meanwhile elucidating physical formulae as the experiment is going on. The drift of this oral and ocular duet seems to be that the law's evolution is the resultant of a conflict of complex social forces which both condition and direct the motions in which the law indulges. This is reinforced by a wealth of references to custom and law from the

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Third Inter-Glacial Period to times nearer our own. Whether the bicycle wheel could serve any other purpose than to fascinate the audience with dizziness is somewhat doubtful. The second lecture on Methods of Law Making is intelligible and sensible. Mr. Wigmore thinks that so long as legislators are free to put their whimsicalities on the statute book we might leave a lot more to the discretion of the judges and relax our reverence for the canon of *stare decisis*. He would change the legislature into an expert body, small in numbers, well paid, and with long terms and continuous sessions. Perhaps with remembrance of his hot defense of the court-martial system and his virulent attack on Mr. Justice Holmes for his plea for freedom of speech in the Abrams case, Mr. Wigmore avows: "I believe in democracy. And I would rather emigrate or die than see the American people Prussianized. But I do not believe that democracy has to be synonymous with incompetency." The concluding lecture suggests a way for getting uniform commercial law throughout the world. Congress should allow the States to make compacts with foreign nations; codes should be drafted by international conferences in which the American States are represented; these codes should then be adopted by State legislation. There is wisdom in the proposal, but it is not likely to be adopted with undue haste.

PAUL CLAUDEL writes French free verse, says Pierre Chavannes in an introduction to "Three Poems of the War" (Oxford University Press), with a "respiratory rhythm." Breathing has stopped in Edward J. O'Brien's English translation, so that the poems scarcely at all take effect. They are said to have affected large numbers of Frenchmen while the war was on, but they will move few Anglo-Saxons now. Utterance must be more than patriotic if it is to be known very long as solid and shining and profound, or if it is to travel very far from the land of its birth.

Drama

A Note on Acting

CRITICISM of acting alternates, as a rule, between ungoverned ecstasy and rough disdain. Whether Hazlitt celebrates the praise of Mrs. Siddons or some contemporary that of John Barrymore, what we get is the impression made by a commanding or romantic personality rather than the record of an artistic achievement. Lesser actors, on the other hand, are dismissed without a word of interpretation or instruction. Nothing in their work is clearly defined or accurately understood by the criticism they receive, and little is left them but to defy their censors and to blunder on. Yet actors deserve helpfulness and close understanding. Their artistic life is precarious and transitory. An approach to perfection before middle age is their one hope. Only so can they expect a few rich and untroubled years before the lights go out upon them and their audiences.

> Nor paint nor pencil can the actor save—
> Both art and artist have one common grave.

The matter, closely looked upon, is not forbiddingly intricate. When toward the end of his life Johnson was asked to sum up the virtues of Garrick, he said: "A true conception of character, and a natural expression of it, were his distinguished excellencies." We speak more subtly today and deal in finer shadings; the intimate nature of the modern drama, the withdrawal of the stage-picture into its frame, and the consequent abandoning of all declamation, have given the words "natural expression" a far intenser meaning. But to the substance of the old critics little need be added. Actors are still, as Colley Cibber declared them to be, "self-judges of nature, from whose

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various lights they only take their true instruction." It is when they are such that we hear, in the fine words of Lessing, "that natural music which unfailingly opens all hearts because we feel that it comes from within and shows us that art has shared in it only in so far as art and nature can become identical."

. The actor's art, then, however difficult to practice is not difficult to understand. His intelligence must grasp the poet's intention and his imagination lend it the concreteness of life. But his imaginative activity must always be the servant of what he has observed in himself and others. Nature must be his teacher and his norm. He has never, to be sure, seen a Hamlet or an Iago, an Osvald or a Henschel. But he has seen men in spiritual perplexity, sardonic mirth, bleak despair, and dumb confusion. Having built up the concrete projection of a character from his imaginative observation, he must, with that personal plasticity which alone justifies his calling, melt into the being which the poet and he have combined to fashion, and speak and act and live outward from within that being's very soul. His faults may therefore be referred to a failure in one of the three basic elements of his art—intelligence, imaginative observation, plastic expression. Or else he may, yielding to a frequent temptation of powerful or peculiar personalities, abandon the art he is well fitted to practice and depend on a continuous display of his own self under this or that borrowed name.

The commonest fault of our actors today is a failure in the second element of their art. Their eyes are turned upon the theater, upon some vivid personality of the stage, upon their careers and persons, upon anything except nature and its spontaneous expression amid the varying moods of life. They are not unskilful in portraying sharp moments of passionate excitement. There are few actresses who cannot weep convincingly. They have all wept and, like many modern people, involuntarily watched the adequate expression of their grief. But in the level passages of a play, in attempting to depict the life from which the passions arise, these very actresses will be of an insufferable and vulgar artificiality. They have never taken the trouble to observe themselves or others at common tasks or in quiet hours; they have no ear or eye for the kind of speech and gesture by which the subdued but important business of nine-tenths of life is carried on. They disdain nature and, rather than observe it, transfer to their private behavior the metallic graces of the stage, mouthing and languishing at home and abroad. On the stage they are passable or even eloquent when the situation is tense. But they say "good morning" or lay the cloth for breakfast with the air of pinchbeck princesses in disguise. The men are more aware of the texture of common existence. But instead of observing nature, they substitute personal mannerisms that are realistic enough but wear thin by constant and wearying repetition in play after play. Mr. Sidney Toler has a quaint glance and Mr. Wallace Eddinger an amusing aspect of hurt innocence. But since neither one has observed life, his mannerism has become a mere trick and his art an exhibition of that single possession. The personal mannerisms of Mr. Dudley Digges cannot be studied from the stalls. When we see him we lose him and dwell solely with the excellence and truth of what he has created.

The ambition of the average American actor is not to interpret drama or create character, but to be John Barrymore. In regard to Mr. Barrymore's artistic intelligence and fascinating gifts there can be no question. But as Fédya in "Redemption," as Gianino in "The Jest," and as Richard III he played but variations upon the theme of himself. There was the same *morbidezza*, the same sense of inferiority becoming fierceness or malign splendor, the same white profile, the same stricken grace. In each piece one became primarily aware not of a creature of a given world and kind, but of John Barrymore's somewhat hectic idealization of himself. It was not, first of all, acting, but superb day-dreaming upon the stage. Mr. Lionel Barrymore, devoid of his brother's poignant charm, is a far more scrupulous practitioner of his art. His Neri in "The Jest" was shaggy, boisterous, full of excess and gorgeous wildness; his Mouzon in "La Robe rouge" was polished, quietly cynical, hard, and graceless in an inimitably truthful modern way. The two creations had nothing in common but his intelligence, his powers of observation, his ability to project what he had grasped and seen. The contrast illustrates this brief argument and sums it up. To emulate John Barrymore is both foolish and impossible; to imitate his brother is to have a just and fruitful notion of the actor's art.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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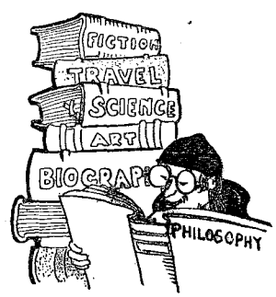

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"If Bolshevism remains the only vigorous and effective competitor of capitalism, I believe that no form of Socialism will be realized, but only chaos and destruction. This belief is one of the grounds upon which I oppose Bolshevism. But to oppose it from the point of view of a supporter of capitalism would be, to my mind, utterly futile and against the movement of history in the present age."

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International Relations Section

Hungary's Intrigues

THE collection of documents printed below was taken from the office of the Hungarian Legation at Vienna by an official of the Legation who was in sympathy with the Socialist refugees. They were photographed and returned. The texts were published in *Vilagossag* (Vienna) and in the Vienna *Arbeiter Zeitung*.

The Irredentist Plot

THE first report published in *Vilagossag* from Ministerial Councillor Reich of the Hungarian Legation at Vienna deals with irredentist activities in Slovakia and other districts formerly belonging to Hungary. It is headed: "Strictly confidential. File separately, in closed envelope. To be shown to none except those immediately concerned. Two copies. Return original." The report is addressed to Dr. Eckhardt of the Hungarian Foreign Office.

In the matter of the irredentist movement in upper Hungary the protracted verbal negotiations (which for considerations of space cannot be reported here) resulted in the organization of the Irredentist Union and various irredentist committees.

Our authorized agents assigned to the occupied districts have everywhere achieved connections as desired, have organized the movement, assigned tasks and roles, and have in most places fixed things up also on the financial side. Today the situation is that this skilfully woven network, the fruit of much exertion, includes practically every hamlet. The whole of the Highlands [meaning Slovakia, formerly northern Hungary] has been divided, for the purposes of the movement, into four districts, each in charge of a committee. The territories inhabited by the Ruthenes, the so-called Ruskaland or Carpatherussia, form a separate district with a separate committee in charge, which, although in close connection with the other committees, handles things independently and within its own jurisdiction. It submits its reports, however, to the central committee at Vienna as well as to the Ministry of National Minorities; it has a separate administrative fund and a separate press fund, its press being directed from Budapest and informed from Vienna.

I suggest that the four committees be assigned to the following four cities: 1. Pressburg, 2. Kassa, 3. Pesztercebanya, 4. Ersekujvar.

Follows a lengthy discussion of the respective merits of these cities as propaganda centers, the chief argument being, in the case of the former two, their ancient Magyar culture and historic tradition, in the case of the latter two their geographical situation. The report then proceeds:

In regard to the organization of the four committees I am in the position to report the following accomplished facts:

The whole movement belongs under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Minorities. Yet this ministry handles matters only provisionally, since it is engaged chiefly in the affairs of western Hungary [assigned to Austria by the peace treaty]. The province of the old Ministry of Propaganda has been divided up in the manner known to you and its work assigned to two centers (I mean Budapest and ourselves). As I pointed out in detail in a former report (and I see that my argument has carried conviction at Budapest) that city is not at all a convenient basis for our activities, on account of its difficult communications with the Czechs. On the other hand, we can handle these things much better here in Vienna, where our press activities and extended system of espionage are excellently organized. Pressburg can be reached from here in two hours by tramcar.

In the Czech legation we have our agents who furnish us with comprehensive, fresh, and timely information whenever necessary. These men are absolutely reliable and we need not fear lest they deceive us with spurious information. As to the local transactions and political efforts of the Czech legation we are kept constantly informed by other legations that are sympathetic with us. It often happens that no sooner is an important, confidential political parley over, no sooner does Renner [the Austrian Secretary for Foreign Affairs] leave a room or does a caller leave than we have accurate information of all that transpired. Our organization is most complete as regards Czech affairs. We endeavored from the beginning to lay emphasis on this side, for we knew that this fruit would ripen for us first. We also have connections with several of the Prague newspapers. We receive our information from the Czech parliament directly by means of couriers, and it is owing to this fact that we are able to consolidate our results abroad, chiefly in France.

We are now in communication with two additional members of the Prague National Assembly—both well initiated in affairs. The value of the activities of these two is inestimable for us. As soon as a change takes place we shall have to insure the political advancement of both. . . .

The tasks of the committees are partly political, partly military. The military affairs and the military organization are conducted by high military persons assigned to each committee, according to reports to date with the best results. I shall later return to this. . . . Each committee reports to Vienna to the central committee and receives therefrom its instructions, directions, and orders.

The outlines of civilian organization have been issued to each committee. Plans are worked out to the smallest detail and must be carried into effect in the same way if we want to count on full results. To sum up briefly, the task of the civilian subcommittees of the four committees is to enrol the population of upper Hungary into one organization. This concentration, however, must not take place within the framework of a society, but by way of a determined and ostensibly not interconnected propaganda.

Since the population is very religious—Catholic—the values of religion must be exploited first of all. For this end it is necessary to win over every priest except those known to be expressly pro-Czech. It is from the priests that we can expect the most prompt results and upon them we must rely. . . . Besides the priests we must count upon the teachers, male and female, and the village clerks. Our contact with these is a matter of course and causes no difficulty. The fate of the people is in the hands of this so-called village intelligentsia and therefore we must lay stress, not upon the people, but on these men. The people belong where these persons belong, go where these persons direct, and act as they are told. I do not mean to say that the population should be entirely neglected, but discontent and with it irredentism must be fostered in this way. In the several district and county seats we also have our agents performing duties partly active, partly passive. They keep us posted on all measures, on the administration, and all other apparently insignificant proceedings. They also support the movement among the intelligentsia of the towns and help to bring discontent to its proper expression.

Above I have outlined civilian organization which is nothing but the application of the snowball method. It begins in the villages and reaches its climax through the towns in the territorial committees which again converge in the central committee. Our work falls into two groups: preparation and action. The preparations will last until about the beginning of harvest time and it is absolutely necessary to wind them up by then. It would be too lengthy and inconvenient to relate here the details

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of preparatory work, as plans have been drawn up for each committee separately. In brief, it will consist partly of press propaganda, partly of personal canvassing. The result of this civilian activity will be that the population of the occupied areas will start trouble in regard to food supplies and will refuse to sell their produce to the Czech authorities, which will cause serious difficulties to the Czechs in the work of provisioning their own country. This will necessarily result in forcing the Czech Government into terroristic measures, which may even modify the results achieved, but this is exactly what we want and our cause is helped thereby. These terroristic measures will necessarily result in intensifying the discontent and bitterness of the population to the utmost, and we will have an easy job in exploiting the situation thus created.

Another branch of our propaganda should also be mentioned, the execution of which has been undertaken by other intermediaries and is already in progress. Those agricultural laborers who for known reasons have been imported this year from the occupied territories in unusually great numbers—in fact, in excess of the actual need—to do the harvesting on the Hungarian large estates, will be exposed to the proper influences and it will be the business of just these men to carry with them the idea of irredentism in its extreme form, to spread it, and at the proper moment to act in its behalf.

Here follows a discussion of the Magyar press in Slovakia. It is pointed out that as the Czechs did not interfere with freedom of the press, the old editorial staffs, sympathetic with the irredentist cause, have remained mostly intact. The anti-chauvinist, pro-Czech influence of the organs of the Viennese émigrés, *Bécsi Magyar Ujság* (the bourgeois radical daily) and *Az Ember* (Social Democratic weekly) is deplored. These two have a large circulation in Slovakia, as the Czechs recognize them as excellent weapons against the Magyar plans. The intrigue aimed at purchasing *Bécsi Magyar Ujság* and transforming it into an organ of Hungarian imperialism is touched upon. The report then proceeds:

The sympathies of the French have, owing to the great political changes, turned toward us. . . . The French know very well that the present Central European situation cannot last and that everything must be undone. On the other hand they can merely countenance our activity, or pretend ignorance of it, or, if necessary, they may even outwardly oppose it, but in reality they approve of and support our efforts. As to their political assistance . . . all I want to say is that my latest negotiations in press matters with French journalists and politicians have led to the best results. I have succeeded in securing the support of a part of the French press, and the realization of this support will set in as soon as the political emergency permits it. True, the Czechs have their journalistic friends in Paris, even some influential and leading personalities, but these will soon have played themselves out completely, because the whole political orientation will have passed, and with it passes the enthusiasm of the press. The French regret that it was just the French politicians who have Balkanized Europe and that the French press furnished the accompaniment to this policy; but that was the necessary process of war, of exploiting victory, and of the obligations assumed by the war statesmen toward our renegade nationalities. That, however, the French say, was the policy of war and victory, and today the French are pursuing the policy of peace. They want exactly what Hungary wants. They esteem our historic past and no one knows better than they the Czech state's lack of vitality. To be sure, there are in France plenty of politicians of the opposite opinion, but they are losing influence and the future belongs to those whom we need and who approve of our political endeavors.

The civilian propaganda is closely interconnected with our military activities. I am not in the position to go into details here, but I shall outline it in order to round off this report and to complete the impression imparted. Many important officers, occupants of high positions in the present Czech army, are in touch with us and accordingly we are in the position closely to follow every military move of theirs. Only a very few officers repudiate, out of conviction or fanaticism, the camaraderie of the old army. Really, it is only now that we can fully appreciate the splendid results achieved by the old military education. That education even today keeps together the officers' corps like a big family, and even though compulsion or the necessity of making a living forces them into foreign service, in their souls they remain our brethren who even now regard themselves as officers of the monarchy and not of the Czech state. The officers secure the future for us. We have in our possession military secrets which in themselves suffice to awaken in us the confidence of success. The officers of Slovak origin who served in the war, be it in Magyar or Slovak regiments, have graduated from Magyar schools, have studied Magyar history, and have become Magyars who will never repudiate these sentiments. Those fragments which, on account of their immaturity, are still wavering, or which profess other loyalties, may well be disregarded.

The organization of the reserve officers in the Highlands [Slovakia] is in progress; most of the officers in active service are already organized. It is of especial help to us that we have our men in the [Czech] Ministry for Slovak Affairs, who are in touch with this organization and can keep us posted as to the results. Our principal aim is to focus the attention of the soldiery on the Czech state's lack of vitality and to make them understand that their present comrades-in-arms, the Czechs, betrayed them as they betrayed us in the war, that thousands of Slovaks perished in the war owing to Czech treachery. We shall arouse resentment against the long term of military service, and we shall explain that the Czech state will be wrecked just by the necessary permanent military preparedness. Measures have been taken to induce the Slovak soldiers to refuse service on Czech territory and to demand assignment to home districts. This means that in an emergency not only is military discipline undermined, but that, when the moment arrives, these troops will come over to us and expel their oppressors themselves. Those officers who have been picked for the most important posts—today members of the Czech army—do their part splendidly. I have no means to give further information in regard to details.

The plans discussed meet with the strongest sympathy on the part of the French, but it would be untimely as yet to boast of this. Their representatives are already on their way and will assume with our politicians either at Budapest or, if the Regent has already left, at Gödöllö, the necessary negotiations aimed at effecting an early change. At any event the return of Kassa and the Pressburg district may be taken for granted, but the Magyar politicians demand, under the pressure of the military, full surrender, for it will be no more difficult to make a *tabula rasa* than to settle things in instalments.

Our strategic plans, embracing the whole of the Highlands, are already completed, and they are so excellent that they compensate for the lack of modern equipment against the Czech military, especially when they [the Czechs] will awaken to the surprise of a rear attack from Slovakia.

Under French pressure I believe it will be possible to conclude an alliance with Rumania, or rather to assume the burden of forced friendship. To be sure, the Rumanians demand too many guaranties, but on the other hand we also shall have our guaranties which under the present circumstances alone count. The French statesmen and generals have undertaken to negotiate this friendship, the idea of which was conceived during the Rumanian Queen's sojourn at Paris. The Rumanian King received the plan with great enthusiasm, and it is alleged that he will exert his full influence with the Western Powers in favor of concluding this alliance against his former allies be-

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cause this is the demand of a sensible policy of the day. They would not oppose the return of the Hapsburgs, for the Rumanian King cherishes a personal sympathy for Charles dating from the days of the war when the latter addressed, in several instances, friendly letters to the Rumanian King asking him to look after certain mutual interests. The French politicians will carry through the plans of this alliance. True, the Czechs are already advised and I am told details have even penetrated into certain Austrian circles, and Renner, I hear, is preparing for a counter-move. The feeling among the Czechs, at any rate, is very agitated, their legations make constant representations at Paris, where they are fed on polite, evasive, and diplomatic answers and where the French strive to down them within the limits of the political code of honor. We have authentic information to the effect that the Austrians, through Renner, have conducted negotiations to avert the approaching menace, and that in the nearest future they will conclude an open alliance, defensive and offensive, with Prague and Belgrade. However, we need not fear this alliance very much, for a change of course is certain in Austria after the elections. That will eliminate Austria automatically; Belgrade will be counterbalanced by Italy and won't stir up much trouble even if it isn't. The local Austrian politicians keep on running to the Entente missions, who merely feed them with words of which we are immediately advised.

This, in a word, is our future policy; everything depends on this. At any event we shall soon see what results will be achieved by French intervention.

In Slovakia the lion's share of the work belongs to the landlords and the Magyar gentry. These gentlemen are the greatest strength of the movement, and the best of it is that, being Slovak citizens, it is difficult to check them politically.

As a supplement to my report I attach the plans concerning the organization of the committee and the assignment of roles. As regards the propaganda concerning Karolyi, the Social Democrats, and the émigré activities I shall advise in detail in my next report.

(Signed) ARPAD REICH
Ministerial Councillor

Hungarian Ambitions and French Support

THE report following, published in *Vilagossag* for September 22, was headed "Hungarian Legation in Vienna, Press Department" and was addressed as "strictly confidential" matter to the Ministry of National Minorities and the Head of the Press Division in the Hungarian Foreign Office.

The favorable turn in our favor which the latest negotiations at Paris and Budapest took exerts a great influence on the activities and direction of our propaganda, for on the one hand it insures to us more elbow-room, and on the other we may now invest it with a certain prestige of official foreign policy.

The French official circles, under pressure of their financiers, are today openly supporting our policy, and the official and semi-official newspapers and other press organs of Paris have already received instructions to boost the new orientation. Our successes are enhanced by the fact that the Entente is about to turn away completely from its favorite to date, Bohemia; and just as the sympathies of the Entente have created Bohemia, the loss of these sympathies will undo her. In Bohemia this change of sentiment is well known and the change in Benes's policies is the result of that change of sentiment. Benes is right in apprehending the loss of the spoils carved out for the Czechs from our body and from that of Austria, and having lost his old protector will have to look for a new one. Thus the idea suggests itself that he had better re-discover the pan-Slav conception and he is now intent upon forming a new political bloc on the basis of Slav relationships. The settlement of the Teschen question, unfavorable for the Czechs, has greatly decreased Benes's authority and his successes are overshadowed by this great failure; he wants to mend this and to this end he regards the alliance with Belgrade and Vienna as an excellent stunt.

In his uncertainty and fear Benes, who in this represents the Czechs in general, goes even to the length of seeking relations with his hereditary enemies the Germans, in order to forestall a final collapse. Renner on his part is supporting Benes's policy most effectively, naturally without the slightest regard for what the Austrian population thinks of it and what the answer of our policy would be. We have revealed these things at Paris at the appropriate moment and they were met with the greatest aversion on the part of the Paris politicians, who for some time have looked askance upon Renner's policy. In Paris they are encouraging us, and even regard as one of our main tasks to supervise and counteract Renner's policy; this is necessary to the French for reasons of national welfare.

Halmos has been in Paris for several weeks and reports that not only his financial transactions, but also the accompanying political negotiations are netting the best results. To be sure, we'll have to pay for French sympathy with heavy sacrifices, but we'll be able to compensate ourselves for these sacrifices elsewhere.

It would be a good idea if the above points which embody the most important events of our latest foreign policy were worked into some shape by the Press Division and put at the disposal of one of the Christian dailies, to be used as an editorial which also might serve as a semi-official statement of the Government's attitude.

After settling the economic questions, Halmos, with the aid of the political agent assigned to him (Cs. from the Foreign Office) and advised by Major Burjan, would start a new set of negotiations, ostensibly by way of private conversations, but in reality this would be the official overture to the policy which the French would authorize us to pursue toward the Czechs. This would make it necessary that we should be prepared to parry certain diplomatic moves of the Czechs. (As regards this the French absolutely refuse to commit themselves officially; nevertheless their attitude is decidedly friendly and the counter-move of the Czechs and their counter-propaganda at Paris will be fruitless.)

Seventeen copies of documents from the Ministry of Slovak Affairs have been put at our disposal by D. (the elder) and there is a prospect that we may receive some day next week copies of state papers from Prague also, or at least extracts from the negotiations conducted between Benes and Renner. You may imagine how important these are considering that the negotiations are directed against us—that is to say, at the prevention of the policy of which the Czechs are so afraid, but which they are unable to prevent, since their calculations have been crossed at Paris in every respect. Now is the time for us to press the button of propaganda, so that our successes here may support in all respect our successes in the diplomatic field.

The monarchist movement is making satisfactory progress. The local monarchist committee issued to them lately 1,500,000 francs from the Swiss fund; moreover the Swiss courier, appointed by Chum in his time, is on his way to obtain new funds from there. As far as expenses are concerned, the propaganda in Bohemia can hardly be compared to the one here. It would be a good thing if Windischgrätz would admonish them to practice economy and to do more work. Windischgrätz wanted to concentrate the other propaganda, too, in his hands, but this was prevented in time by the minister, and rightly, too, because that would merely have spoiled matters.

The Pressburg sub-committee asks us to detail a few clever journalists to them in view of the fact that the local men are not equal to such tremendous tasks. I think this would be very

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sensible, the more so since we have a few excellent men whom we could very conveniently use in just such a way. The expenditure might be defrayed jointly; it would at any rate not be difficult to get an appropriation. I should think either we would have to authorize the outlay, or the Pressburg subcommittee might assume it, or else the men could receive their salaries directly from Budapest. I have recommended Mandl [a prominent Vienna journalist] but he declines, and in a sense I think it is for the better as we need him right here for he is a journalist with good connections among the leading papers here and is in a position to place inspired articles in our favor. I do not wish to interfere further in this matter; it would be better to settle it from Budapest.

The other day Santaffy called on me; he had spoken at Prague with several men in the Foreign Office, but it seems he did not hit the right ones. For that matter, I have received unfavorable information regarding this man. I suggest that he be eliminated altogether or at least not assigned to any important task. We have plenty of dependable men; why play with uncertainties? But as a spy he may have his uses. Concerning the army captain from Marienbad, I have had conversations and I am sure the thing can be done. Information as to his person is fully satisfactory. Moreover, he is no Czech, but a Saxon from Transylvania.

The other day I urged that 150,000 sokols [Czech kronen] be advanced against the appropriated expenditure. The matter is urgent, please get action at once. It would be best to transmit the money for the propaganda division in foreign exchange, French francs for instance, so as to forego losses.

It seems that the employment of Captain Belumat is a failure —or perhaps he does not take things seriously. I am inclined to think this to be the case as he never made the impression of an energetic person on me. . . . The Prague police has a few members who could be drawn into the monarchist movement, but in my opinion this is not yet timely. We might take this up in the end, for from this source trouble may easily arise.

I am about to exhaust my discretionary fund (concerning propaganda) considering that the disposition of the Kassa assignments cost an awful lot to begin with. Moreover, the member of the Czech National Assembly whose coming was announced over the telephone actually did call. He intimated in a very subtle yet unmistakable manner that he was hard up financially. As we can expect a good deal from him I could not refuse assistance. Please transmit to me the O. K. for this with a view on the accounting.

I have compiled the list of the newspapers we intend to support on the occupied territories, together with the sums allotted, but as the money is at the moment not available here, I ask you to disburse it as soon as possible. I included in the list only those papers which can actually earn the assistance and deliver the goods, in the second place those which are in a very bad hole and whose cessation would hurt our interest. Of course it is very hard to discriminate in this matter as all publishers are intent on proving that they are in stressed circumstances and that the survival of their respective papers is all-important for the irredentist propaganda. Nevertheless I think I have hit the right clew. The expenditures in this field will amount to about 400,000 Czech kronen, or 2,000,000 kronen in our money. I could get the Czech exchange at a favorable rate by way of the *Ergon* [a Hungarian trading corporation in Vienna which last summer was involved in smuggling arms to Hungary].

I have taken steps in regard to the delivery of arms, but this matter is not pressing. Polivka says they will be loaded on ships in the port at Pressburg; this he can vouch for as he has good connections with the workers there and knows the ways. Nevertheless, I should recommend that this matter be reconsidered and the weapons left where they are, or else that they be transported in small shipments to Sarvar, Bartfa, Kassa, and Locse. Here we still need everything; the other places, more or less, are provided with what they most need.

On my return from Budapest I shall prepare a report on the subsidies to newspapers. For the present I want to discuss this in the Foreign Office.

Our man in the Prague Foreign Office is sick. That's why I could not get a report from him for two weeks. His Excellency made inquiries yesterday and I reported to him at length. He had with him the courier and Csapek whose narrative he heard with interest. We should give a separate assignment to Csapek.

(Signed) ARPAD REICH
Vienna, August 22, 1920 Ministerial Councillor

Agents of Propaganda in Austria

A FURTHER report on the activities of the Hungarian Legation was published in the Vienna *Arbeiter Zeitung* of September 22. It is addressed to the Hon. Tiber Eckhardt, Head of the Press Division, Foreign Office, Budapest.

The printing of leaflets for the *Vereinigung Tausender gleichgesinnter Deutschösterreicher* [Union of Thousands of Like-Minded German-Austrians] has been completed and measures for mailing and distributing same are taken. I shall send by courier a certain number of these leaflets to the proper address at Budapest.

In my opinion we ought to stick to this nomenclature (*Vereinigung Tausender gleichgesinnter Deutschösterreicher*) because it is rather general, has no pronounced political flavor, and for the time being is excellent as a camouflage. This name suits the local Christian Socialist Party, too, and this is the main thing, after all, for any change of name would concern it in the first place and would have to suit its purposes. As you know the Vienna Social Democratic papers, the *Arbeiter Zeitung* in the first place, have launched vehement attacks against the Christian Socialist Party, accusing the leaders of having received money from us for electioneering purposes and charging, also, that in case of a victory in the elections the party would assume a friendly attitude toward us in the matter of Western Hungary [allotted by the peace treaty to German-Austria]. These speeches and articles have been vigorously answered not only by the *Reichspost*, but also by Deputy Kunschak. The suspicion is dispelled and it seems that the attacks will not be repeated for the time being. The above reasons explain why the party was averse to having the offensive launched under its own name, for in that case the Social Democratic papers would have attacked it sharply and initiated a campaign of lies which might have alienated from it, in many respects, the sympathy of the workers which is about to incline toward it.

I believe the publication and distribution of the leaflets and the whole campaign in general were extremely timely and were sprung at the right moment. The *Volksturm*, in accordance with the instructions received, will similarly start a powerful offensive. The *Eiserne Besen* and the *Staatswehr* will do the same. Of course, we cannot expect much from the *Staatswehr*, as it pursues an expressly military policy, and as no propaganda is needed to convert its readers (members of the former officers' corps and the legitimists) to our cause.

Just now the chairman of the *Antisemitenbund* and the editors of the *Eiserne Besen* have put at my disposal all the papers, that is to say, a full list of those Austrian papers whose moral and, if necessary, financial support would be important and desirable in the present fateful hour. I shall transmit this list and some pertinent suggestions.

In view of the terrible dearth of paper and the high wages, the printing and financing of these leaflets and of the coming issues will cost colossal sums. As my discretionary fund has

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been raised in accordance with our last discussion at Budapest, I have assumed this expenditure. But I have figured wrongly, inasmuch as I did not estimate the expenses at such a tremendous sum. In view of this and also because these accounts are of a wholly confidential nature, further, because these items must be accounted for in some acceptable form or other, I am afraid that these tremendous items will be too conspicuous in my accounting and will not be in keeping with the old province and with the previous expenditure of the Press Bureau head.

I should deem it convenient if I had less to do with the finances of this propaganda so as to be able to devote myself in a larger measure than heretofore to intellectual leadership. For this reason I make the following suggestion: the whole affair should be assigned to the political department, so that in this way the financing of the propaganda—in other words, not only the personal expenditure but the entire propaganda expenditure, including printing expenses—may be taken over by the Minister, as his slush fund will bear such tremendous expenses more easily and it will be easier for him to account for such expenses of a political nature.

As to the men of the *Antisemitenbund*, our contact with them is restored and we are already tackling the task of their organization. The membership is large enough, only it is a pity their leaders, apart from a few energetic men, are not worth a damn. But the work of organization is well under way and justifies the best expectations. Several members of the Awakening Magyars, men of excellent organizing ability, are now staying in Vienna. They maintain a constant connection with them (the *Antisemitenbund*) and they will reorganize the whole thing on the Budapest pattern. In such a manner we shall achieve this end: that the solidarity of the Jews will be counteracted by our compact organization and that this society, supported by our parallel work, will break the local Red wave completely.

In addition to this the Awakening Magyars have established contact with the local *Frontkämpfervereinigung* (Union of Fighters at the Front), but, to tell the truth, I do not expect much from this direction, for there is too much discord in the society; the officers would hardly like to join it. Colonel Wolff conducts propaganda against them. Nevertheless I think it advisable to cherish this connection. Perhaps they don't need financial assistance; even if they cannot accomplish much, they may accomplish something, and in my modest view we cannot afford today to refuse even the slightest support.

I have seen to it that the leaflets should reach, through our confidential agents, into the factories, into the hands of the working people. I have negotiated, furthermore, to the end of having these leaflets published in the Christian Socialist newspapers as advertisements. Needless to say, the editors have granted my request with the greatest pleasure. As to the business side of the matter, we shall reach some agreement or other. I shall try to fix a moderate price, but I do not want to strain this overmuch. The fact is, this is our only chance to support the poorer papers. Thus, at least, nobody will be able to say that Horthy has bought the local newspapers—as the Jewish papers assert—and yet the financial support will be available.

My accounts for the expenses and outlay and my confidential financial statement I shall send at the earliest opportunity; I shall also transmit a confidential report of all these matters. In view of the fact that these expenditures run into the hundred thousands I think it necessary that somebody higher up should assume them.

(Signed) REICH
Press Chief, Ministerial Councillor

Vienna, August 3, 1920

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Hungarian Propaganda in America

ANOTHER report, of which only the first part is here reproduced, introduces the United States as a field for anti-Czech propaganda. It is addressed to Dr. Eckhardt at the Hungarian Foreign Office from the Press Division of the Hungarian Legation at Vienna.

1. I have the honor respectfully to advise you that I have succeeded today in introducing to Dr. Bela Szekely, editor of the *Amerikai Magyar Nepszava*, Dr. Charles Bulisza, one of the local Slovak leaders, and on this basis an agreement was reached to start propaganda on a larger scale among the American Slovaks against the Czechs. In the first place the *Amerikai Magyar Nepszava* and the big Slovak daily over there will publish interviews in which Dr. Charles Bulisza and other local leaders will express themselves to enlighten the misguided portion of American Slovaks as to the oppressive policy of the Czechs.

Arrangements have been made to the effect that the American Slovaks should organize demonstrations before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate at Washington, by means of delegations and memoranda, protesting against Czech rule and the epithet "Czecho-Slovak"; further they will demand, above all, a plebiscite in the territories occupied by the Czechs. Arrangements have been made to feature constantly in the biggest American newspapers the anti-Czech attitude of the Slovaks. . . .

Very respectfully yours,
CHARLES LENDVAY.

The French-Hungarian Treaties

THE following summary of three treaties, reported to have been concluded by representatives of the French and Magyar Governments, was published in *Az Ember*, the weekly organ of the Hungarian Social Democratic refugees in Vienna.

1. THE RAILWAY TREATY

This document confirms the purchase of the Hungarian state railways—the most important economic asset left in possession of the Magyar Government after the Treaty of Trianon—by a group of French financiers. The agreement was signed on July 19 at the royal hunting lodge at Gödöllö, near Budapest, by the Hungarian Minister of Finance, Baron Koranyi, and the plenipotentiary of the French purchasing syndicate, Count de Saint-Sauveur.

Nominally the treaty provides not for the sale, but for the lease of the state railways. Section I provides that the Hungarian Government assume the obligation to have the treaty accepted and ratified without any change whatever. Neither the treaty nor any of its provisions must be published within five years.

Section II. The treaty is valid for a period of fifty years, but it may be cancelled by either contracting party on a notice of two years.

Section III. The French syndicate acquired, for the duration of the treaty, a complete title deed, registered in the Hungarian State Office of Abstracts, for all factories, plants, and shops and any other property, movable or immovable, of the Hungarian state railways. Attached a complete inventory dated May 4, 1920.

Section IV. The Hungarian Government renounces, for the duration of the treaty, all sovereign rights in relation to the state railways.

Section V. The Hungarian Government assumes the obligation to settle all administrative details within three months from signature.

Section VI. The Hungarian Government shall raise, not later

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than January 1, 1921, all railway passenger, and freight rates as follows: passenger rates fivefold, freight rates eightfold.

Section VII. The Hungarian Government shall guarantee to the French syndicate all rights enjoyed by the old board of directors of the railways and pending ratification obliges itself to submit all measures related to the railways to the syndicate through the French chargé d'affaires.

Sections VIII-IX. The Hungarian Government is bound to consult the diplomatic representative of the French Republic as to every measure that can be construed to bear on any provision of this agreement, including measures of purely domestic policy. The suggestions of the diplomatic representative must be considered and answered within three days.

Section X. The Hungarian Government is bound to ratify without change this treaty, with every clause and implication, not later than January 1, 1921. It is bound to see that the treaty is upheld by all successive governments.

On its side the French syndicate agrees to these terms.

1. It cedes 30 per cent of its stock to the Hungarian treasury.
2. It guarantees the yearly net receipts at 400,000,000 francs, regardless of exchange fluctuations.
3. It is bound to pay over to the Hungarian treasury 20 per cent of these net earnings, by January 31 of every year.
4. The syndicate is bound to respect, as far as possible, the advice of the Hungarian Ministers of War and of Commerce.
5. All employees of the railways will retain their positions.
6. Employees' salaries must be in proportion to those of other public employees.
7. This clause deals—about 200 printed pages—with the obligations of the French syndicate to improve the inventory. Most important of all, the syndicate is to raise, within ten years, the rolling stock to its level of August 1, 1914.
8. This clause provides for the composition of the board of directors. The Hungarian Minister of Commerce is vice-president.

The treaty is signed on the Hungarian side by Regent Horthy, Finance Minister Koranyi, and Premier Teleki; on the French side by Saint-Sauveur, Fouché, and Aulier. Attached vouchers are dated Neuilly, July 21, and signed Millerand and Cambon.

2. The Political Agreement

This document was signed on July 23, 1920. It provides that inasmuch as the Hungarian National Assembly would refuse to ratify the railroad treaty the Hungarian Government is bound to force through a law empowering the Regent to dissolve the Assembly and to ratify the railroad treaty by decree.

The Hungarian Government is authorized to continue universal military service in force. It is entitled to supplement its armed establishment by calling to the colors the classes of 1890-1900, beginning August 1, 1920. The French Government reserves the right to pass upon the numerical strength of the Hungarian army.

The French Government undertakes the rectification through the League of Nations of the frontier settlement, as laid down by the Treaty of Trianon.

The document is signed by Horthy, Teleki, and Kania for Hungary; by Fouché and Derain-Roul for France.

3. The Military Convention

Signed July 27.

Hungary offers an army of 150,000 to assist against Soviet Russia. The army is to be under French command.

An exchange of notes is added to this convention, according to which Hungary is authorized to occupy the territories within its former boundaries in case a soviet government is established in any of the border states. Further measures are to be specified by the French War Ministry. If German-Austria joins Germany, Hungary is authorized to occupy frontier cities—including, of course, Vienna. If Hungary is attacked France will render active help.

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